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MANU-SMRTI
THE LAWS OF MANU
WITH THE
BHĀSYA OF MEDHĀTITHI

TRANSLATED BY
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DISCOURSE VII

Duties of the King.

SECTION 1.

Important Position of the King

VERSE (1).

I AM GOING TO EXPOUND THE DUTIES OF KINGS ; HOW THE LORD OF MEN SHOULD CONDUCT HIMSELF, HOW HE CAME INTO EXISTENCE AND HOW EXCELLENT SUCCESS ACCRUES TO HIM.—(1).

Bhāṣya.

It has already been pointed out that the term '*Dharma*' denotes *what ought to be done, duty*; so what the author promises in the present verse is that he is now going to describe *what ought to be done by the King*.

This duty is of two kinds—(1) pertaining to visible things, such as the 'six courses of action' and the like, and (2) pertaining to invisible things, such as the *Agnihotra* and the like. In the present context it is the former that is chiefly dealt with; and in fact it is only those forms of activity that are generally known as 'kingly duties.'

The term '*rājan*', 'king,' in the present context, does not stand for the *Kṣattriya* caste; it stands for that person who fulfills the conditions of having been anointed, possessing the rights of sovereignty and so forth. It is for this reason that the Text adds—'*How the Lord of Men should conduct himself*.'—The use of the term 'lord of men' indicates that what is stated here is applicable to the person who has sovereignty over the people.

The duties expounded in the present connection are based, not all upon the Veda, but on other sources of knowledge also. Among those based upon other sources of information, those alone are stated here which are not contrary to the '*Science of Duty (Ethics)*'. Says *Kātyāyana*—'One shall renounce the Science of Politics and act according to the Science of Duty.'

. 'Yathāṛttah,' 'how he shou'd conduct himself';—the compound is to be expounded as 'yadyatprakāarakam vā vṛttam yasya,' a *Bahuvrihi* compound; the third factor referred to by it being the King. If the compound were explained in the manner whereby the denotation of the words of the compound itself formed the principal denotation of the compound itself,—then it would have to be 'an *Avyayībhāva* (in the form 'yathāvṛttam').—'Conduct' stands for the action of protecting the people and also of accomplishing some transcendental ends.

'Coming into existence', being created; as is going to be described under verse 3—'the Lord created the King' and so forth.

'Excellent', highest,—'success', in the form of undisputed sovereignty.

This verse states the rewards of the due fulfilment of kingly duties (1).

VERSE (2).

THE PROTECTION OF ALL THIS SHALL BE DONE ACCORDING TO LAW, BY THE KSATTRIYA WHO HAS RECEIVED THE VEDIC TRAINING IN DUE FORM.—(2).

Bhāṣya.

'*Brahma*' is Veda; the 'training' under gone according to the Veda is called '*brāhma*' '*Vedic*'; that which consists in the learning of the meaning of the texts by studying the Veda, and which is accomplished in obedience to the injunction of Vedic study. The Initiatory Ceremony also is rightly called '*Vedic*', in view of the fact that it is gone through for the purpose of getting up the Veda; as the author is going to say later on (verse 43)—'From persons learned in the three Sciences he shall learn the Three-Fold science etc'. If this (learning the meaning of the Vedic texts) were not meant by the present verse, then it would be asserting what is already known; as in that case the 'sacrament' could only stand for the forty-eight 'sacramental rites' laid down in the Smṛtis, beginning with 'Conception' and ending with the 'Final Sacrifice'.

‘*By the Kṣattriya.*’—This indicates that the *Kṣattriya* alone is entitled to Kingship. In the absence of the *Kṣattriya* however, a substitute also may be accepted ; otherwise the people would become exterminated (for want of a protector). Such is the sense of the text.

‘*Of all*’—who pay taxes, as well as those who are poor and helpless.

‘*This*’;—this refers to the people living in his kingdom, in villages as well in cities.

‘*According to law*’.—‘*Law*’ stands for the scriptures, specially the scriptures dealing with ‘Dharma’ or Duty, and not those relating to ‘Artha’ or ‘Policy’ and composed by Aushanas and other writers. ‘According to this’—i.e. not acting contrary to it

‘*Protection*’—Guarding ; i.e. removing troubles, guarding the weak against the strong, and seeing that they do not act against the law. ‘*Protection*’ means *saving from trouble* ; the transgressing of law brings imperceptible trouble ; so that when people do not transgress it, they become saved from that trouble, by the King. It might be argued that the punishment inflicted by the King (for transgressions of the law) is also painful. But the pain caused by such punishment would be infinitesimal, as compared with the terrible sufferings undergone in hell.

‘*Shall be done*’;—this is the Injunction.

What prompts and entitles the King to do all this is explained in Discourse VIII—(2)

VERSES (3) & (4)

AT A TIME WHEN THE PEOPLE WERE WITHOUT A KING, AND WERE UTTERLY PERTURBED THROUGH FEAR, THE LORD CREATED THE KING FOR THE PROTECTION OF ALL THIS;—(3) TAKING OUT THE ESSENTIAL CONSTITUENTS OF INDRA, VĀYU, YAMA, SŪRYA, VARUṆA, CHANDRA AND KUBERA—(4)

Bhāṣya.

‘*Perturbed*’—troubled, or unsettled.

‘*Lord*’—Prājapati.

This is a pure enlogium.—(3)

‘*Anila*’ is Vāyu.

‘*Vittēsha*,—the Lord of Wealth, Vaishravaṇa, Kubēra.

‘*Mātrā*’—constituent parts.

‘*Eternal*’—i. e. essential.

‘*Niṣkr̥ṭya*’—extracting, taking out.—(4)

VERSE (5)

IN AS MUCH AS THE KING WAS CREATED WITH THE CONSTITUENT ELEMENTS OF THESE PRINCIPAL GODS, HE SURPASSES ALL LIVING BEINGS BY HIS GLORY.—(5)

Bhāṣya.

‘*These*’—Indra and the other chief Gods;—‘*with the constituent elements*’—with the particles of their Light constituting their bodies;—the ‘*King was created*’;—hence his face becomes terrible to look at;—‘*by his glory*’—on account of his glory.

He was created after ‘*taking out*’ the essential constituents. The root ‘*kṛṣi*’ (in the term ‘*niṣkr̥ṣya*’ (in verse 4) denotes ‘*creating*’. The Ablative (in ‘*mātrābhyaḥ*’) may be explained either on the ground of the ‘*elements*’ being the permanent factor out of which the constituents of the King are taken out. Or we may read ‘*mātrāya*’ with the Instrumental ending (which would denote *cause*).—(5)

VERSE (6)

LIKE THE SUN, HE BURNS THE EYES AND MINDS (OF MEN); NO ONE ON THE EARTH CAN EVEN GAZE AT HIM.—(6)

Bhāṣya

‘*Burns*,—as if it were; it is so expressed, in view of the fact that people cannot gaze at him; this is what is stated in the

second half.—‘*No one on the Earth*’—not even persons belonging to the excellent Brāhmaṇa caste, or endowed with Brahmic glory—‘*can gaze at him*’—look at him straight in the face. It is in view of the that it has been declared that ‘people shall sit down below while the King is seated on high’ (*Gautama*, 11)—(6)

VERSE (7)

ON ACCOUNT OF HIS PUISSANCE HE IS AGNI, VĀYU AND SŪRYA ; HE IS SOMA AND YAMA; HE IS KUBĒRA, HE IS VARUṆA AND HE IS INDRA.—(7)

Bhūṣya

This is said in view of the fact that, being constituted by the component particles of Agni and other Gods, he is equipped with their powers.

‘*Puissance*’—supernatural power.—(7)

VERSE (8)

EVEN THOUGH AN INFANT, THE KING SHALL NOT BE DESPISED AS IF HE WERE MERELY HUMAN; BECAUSE HE IS A GREAT DIVINITY IN HUMAN FORM.—(8)

Bhāṣya

Even an infant King shall not be regarded as merely a human being, and as such despised. In fact he is a great divinity, appearing in the shape of man. For this reason it is not right to show disrespect towards the King, even on account of defects that may be perceived in him.—(8)

VERSE (9)

FIRE BURNS ONLY ONE MAN WHO MAY HAPPEN TO APPROACH IT CARELESSLY; THE FIRE OF THE KING, ON THE OTHER HAND, CONSUMES THE ENTIRE FAMILY, ALONG WITH ITS CATTLE AND HOARD OF WEALTH.—(9)

Bhāṣya.

The following verses are commendatory supplements to the foregoing Injunction. Though the context deals with the 'Duties of Kings', yet what is stated here applies to all men.

When a man touches fire, with his hand, or goes too near the fire when it is burning fiercely,—he is said to be 'approaching it carelessly'; and when he is thus careless, he becomes burnt. If, however, the King happens to be angry, he destroys the man along with his wife, children, relations and property. In fact; on account of the fault committed by the master of the house, he destroys all those relations and friends that may happen to be with the family at the time, along with all their goods and chattels.—(9)

VERSE (10)

FOR THE PROPER FULFILMENT OF HIS DUTY, HE ASSUMES MANY FORMS REPEATEDLY, AFTER HAVING CAREFULLY CONSIDERED THE NATURE OF HIS BUSINESS, HIS POWER AND THE CONDITIONS OF TIME AND PLACE.—(10)

Bhāṣya.

One should never think that the King is his relation or friend. 'To whom is the King ever a friend, and who are friends to the King ?' (as the saying goes).

Under the exigencies of business, Kings treat a friend as their enemy, or an enemy as their friend. Similarly when they feel that they are not sufficiently strong, they condone faults; and as soon as they feel strong enough, they destroy the culprit. Similarly he acts according to the exigencies of time and place.

Thus '*for the due fulfilment of his duty*'—i. e. for the accomplishment of his business—'*he assumes many forms*'. In a moment he becomes a friend, and in a moment an enemy; the King never remains uniform.

For this reason one should never trust the King; that is, either by reason of friendship, or of kindness, or of good nature, or of

sameness of age, one should not behave towards him as an equal. He should always be treated with caution.—(10)

VERSE (11)

HE INDEED CONTAINS IN HIMSELF THE SPLENDOUR OF ALL, IN WHOSE FAVOUR DWELLS THE GODDESS OF FORTUNE, IN WHOSE VALOUR RESTS VICTORY AND IN WHOSE ANGER ABIDES DEATH.—(11)

Bhāṣya.

When he is pleased at service rendered to him, he grants wealth; when he is angry, he inflicts death. Hence he who desires wealth should serve him with care. When he is pleased with a man, he does not merely bestow wealth on him, but also subdues and destroys his enemies. For this reason also, if a man desires the destruction of his enemy, he should try to please the King.

'*Padmā*;'—though this term is synonymous with '*Shri*' (a name of the Goddess of Fortune, yet in the present text it has been used in the sense of *greatness*; the sense being that the King bestows large wealth.

All these things are obtained from the King, because '*he contains in himself the splendour of all*'—i. e. of the Sun, the Moon and Fire.—(11)

VERSE (12).

HE, WHO, THROUGH FOLLY, IS HOSTILE TOWARDS HIM, DOUBTLESSLY PERISHES ; BECAUSE THE KING MAKES UP HIS MIND FOR HIS QUICK DESTRUCTION.—(12).—

Bhāṣya.

The King shall be kept pleased, not so much with a view to obtaining desirable things from him, as for saving oneself from trouble ; this is what is reiterated by the text.

He who is hostile to the King,—i.e. acts against him—'*he doubtlessly perishes*'; '*because, for his quick destruction.*' etc.—Other men may forgive a fault, on account of the difficulties involved in complaining of it to the King; which involves expenditure of money, where difficulties crop up again and again by

reason of the freaks of witnesses and so forth; but in the case of the King himself, there is no such difficulty; and when once he makes up his mind to destroy a man, the man is surely ruined; the King being all-powerful; and further, if he were to appear like making special efforts for chastising such a man, this (show of weakness) would militate against his puissance (?).—(12).

• VERSE (13.)

FOR THIS REASON NO ONE SHOULD TRANSGRESS THAT FAVOURABLE DECREE WHICH THE KING SHOULD ORDAIN IN FAVOUR OF HIS FAVOURITES, OR THAT UNFAVOURABLE DECREE THAT HE SHOULD ORDAIN AGAINST THOSE IN HIS DISFAVOUR.—(13).

Bhāṣya.

Because the King 'contains within himself the splendour of all,' therefore,—*'in favour of his favourites'*—towards those ministers, priests and others who are in favour,—whenever in course of business, a '*decree*'—an ordinance, in consonance with Law and Custom—is ordained or issued by the King;—no one should transgress such a decree. Such a decree of the King's should not be disobeyed; such a decree for instance as—*'To-day, the city should observe a holiday—there is a marriage in the minister's house,—all men should be present there,—no animals shall be slaughtered to-day by the soldiers,—no birds are to be caught,—for so many days dancing girls shall be entertained by all wealthy men.'*

Similarly '*against those in disfavour*',—such a decree as—*'no one shall associate with this person,—no one should allow him to enter his house'*.

When such decrees are issued by the King by the beat of drum etc. they shall not be transgressed. But the King has no power to control the ordinances pertaining to religious acts, such as the *Agnihotra* and the like, of the orders and castes. Such control would be repugnant to other *Smṛti* texts; and the present text has its application, without offending against any *Smṛti* text, in cases indicated above.—(13).

SECTION (2).

Punishment.

VERSE (14).

FOR HIS SAKE, THE LORD, AT FIRST, CREATED PUNISHMENT, WHICH IS LAW BORN OF THE LORD HIMSELF, AN INCARNATION OF DIVINE GLORY AND THE PROTECTOR OF ALL CREATURES.—(14).

Bhāṣya.

The origin of the King has been described ; the origin of Punishment is now described.

‘*For his sake*’—for the due fulfilment of the purposes of the King,—‘*the Lord*’—Prajāpati—‘*created Punishment*’.

“What purpose of the King is served by Punishment ?”

The answer is as follows—It is ‘*the protector of all creatures*’;—it is Punishment that ‘*protects*’—guards—all creatures ; as without Punishment the King cannot carry on the work of protecting the people. Thus it was for the proper accomplishment of the kingly function that Punishment was created.

(a) ‘*It is Law, (b) born of the Lord himself, (c) incarnation of divine glory*’.—(a) ‘Law’ does not consist of sacrifices and gifts ; it consists of Punishment. (b) Nor should it be regarded as an inferior form of Law, by reason of its depriving men of their life and property ;—because it is that Law which is born out of the body of the Lord, Prajāpati, himself. (c) Nor is it composed of the five material substances ; it is created out of the pure ‘glory’ of Brahman himself.

‘*At first,*’—before the creation of the King himself,—(14)

VERSE (15)

IT IS THROUGH FEAR OF HIM THAT ALL LIVING BEINGS, MOVABLE AS WELL AS IMMOVABLE, GO TO SUBSERVE THE EXPERIENCES (OF MEN) AND DO NOT SWERVE FROM THEIR DUTIES.—(15)

Bhāṣya.

'Through fear of him.'—As mere relationship in general is meant to be expressed" (and Punishment is not meant to be spoken of as the actual source of fear), we have the Genitive (and not the Ablative) ending in '*tasya*'. It is through fear of Punishment that immovable beings '*subserve the experiences of men*'—become capable of helping in their enjoyment, by means of flowers, fruits, shade and so forth. The immovable being (tree) that does not bear fruit either dries up ; or, if it does not dry up, it spreads all over the place and is cut up and made into coal.

By citing the case of the 'immovable things' it is meant that such should be the treatment meted out to the person who is found to be deserving of punishment on account of his having done something wrong to the King ; that he should be punished with cutting, uprooting (total destruction) and the like.

The mention of the 'immovable beings' is for the purpose of eulogising, by its example, the Punishment ; the sense being that—'Punishment is such a thing that it is inflicted even upon immovable things, what to say of movable ones ?'—and it is not meant that Punishment is actually inflicted upon immovable things.

'Do not swerve from their duty'—i. e. they do not flower or fruit out of their proper season.—(15).

VERSE (16)

TO MEN WHO ACT UNLAWFULLY, HE SHALL METE IT OUT APPROPRIATELY, HAVING CAREFULLY CONSIDERED THE TIME AND PLACE, AS ALSO THE STRENGTH AND LEARNING.—(16).

Bhāṣya.

Those '*who act unlawfully*,'—i. e. do things harmful to the King.—i. e. such persons as the Chief Minister and others,—it is the punishment to be inflicted upon such men that is described now. As regards persons who behave unlawfully towards one another, the punishment to be inflicted is going to be described under VIII. 126, where it is said—'Having ascertained the motive

&c &c.' ; and the present verse also we have explained under that text. One additional factor introduced in the present text is 'learning', which stands for *Vedic learning*.

'*Appropriately*'—according as each man may deserve.

'*Mete out*'—inflict, bestow.

Punishment should be meted out after having fully considered all that is here mentioned. If inflicted in any other way, it would bring perceptible trouble to the King.

The two (similar) verses occurring in discourses VII and VIII differ in the following respects—(a) one refers to visible (worldly) matters and the other to invisible (super-physical) ones, and (b) one refers to the King's servants and the other to his people.—(16).

VERSE (17).

THAT PUNISHMENT IS THE 'KING', THE 'MAN'; THAT IS THE 'LEADER' AND THE 'RULER' AND THAT HAS BEEN DECLARED TO BE THE 'SURETY' FOR THE LAW OF THE FOUR STAGES.—(17)

Bhāṣya.

That in reality is 'King';—as it is by reason of Punishment that the King's power holds.

That is the 'Man';—since it disregards even powerful men and brings them under its power.

That is the 'Leader';—all business is led, managed, by it.

'Ruler'—'Ruling' consists in the King's commands ; and these latter are capable of controlling men only when there is Punishment ; and it is in this sense that the actual act of *ruling* has been figuratively attributed to it.

It is like 'surety' of 'the Law of the Four Stages';—i.e. Punishment does not allow men to swerve from their duty in the same manner as the surety does not allow the party to deviate from the stipulated conditions.—(17)

VERSE (18).

PUNISHMENT GOVERNS ALL CREATURES ; PUNISHMENT ALONE PROTECTS THEM ; PUNISHMENT LIES AWAKE WHILE ALL ARE ASLEEP ; THE WISE REGARD PUNISHMENT AS LAW ITSELF.—(18)

Bhāṣya.

It is not the King that administers the law, relating to the Injunction of what ought to be done and the Prohibition of what ought not to be done ; it is Punishment that does this administering.

'Punishment alone protects'—the weak against the strong.

'While all'—King's officers—*'are asleep'*—it is only through fear of punishment that people desist from doing what they like.

There are two kinds of this Punishment,—(a) that inflicted by the King and (b) that inflicted by the God of Death (in hell).—(18)

VERSE (19).

WHEN METED OUT PROPERLY AFTER DUE INVESTIGATION, IT MAKES ALL PEOPLE HAPPY ; BUT WHEN METED OUT WITHOUT DUE INVESTIGATION, IT DESTROYS ALL THINGS.—(19)

Bhāṣya.

'Meted out'—inflicted, set up.

'After due investigation'—i.e. after having duly examined the peculiarities of 'time', 'place' and other details mentioned before (Verse 16).

'Makes happy'—incites affection among the people.

When inflicted in a manner contrary to this, it does not only fail in its own purpose ; in fact when wrongly administered, it destroys the best interests of the people.—(19)

VERSE (20).

IF THE KING DID NOT UNTIRINGLY METE OUT PUNISHMENT TO THOSE THAT DESERVE PUNISHMENT, THE STRONGER WOULD HAVE ROASTED THE WEAKER, LIKE FISH, ON THE SPIT ;—(20)

Bhāṣya.

If punishment were not inflicted, then the '*stronger*'—i.e. those possessed of greater strength, or more energetic, or wielding weapons, or being larger in numbers—'*would have roasted the weaker, like fish, on the spit*';—i.e. just as fish are roasted on spit for food, so would the less powerful, be treated, by the more powerful, by suffering pecuniarily as well as physically, and also by being deprived of their wives and so forth.

For this reason the King should '*untiringly*' punish those that deserve punishment; and he should not entertain any such notions as—'How can I carry on an investigation into this matter,? I shall not punish any one at all.'—(20)

•VERSE (21).

THE CROW WOULD EAT THE SACRIFICIAL CAKE, AND THE DOG WOULD LICK THE OFFERING-MATERIALS; RIGHTS OF OWNERSHIP WOULD NOT REMAIN WITH ANY ONE AND THERE WOULD BE A CONFUSION AMONG THE HIGH AND LOW.—(21).

Bhāṣya.

Even such low animals as the crow, the dog and the like would vie with the gods; and they would come to eat the sacrificial cake and other offering-materials that should have been offered to the gods;—if they were not prevented from all this by means of punishment.

Further, '*the rights of ownership*'—the relation of possessor and possessed—would not remain,—even between father and son, or between husband and wife; the husband would cease to be the husband of the wife, and women would go about independently by themselves.

'*Confusion among the high and low*';—the 'low,' e.g. the *Chandāla* and the rest, would become 'high'; and the 'high,' e.g. the *Brāhmaṇa* and others, would become 'low,' succumb to inferiority; Shūdras would come to preach the law, and the Vedic law would cease to be obeyed.—(21).

VERSE (22).

IT IS BY PUNISHMENT THAT ALL PEOPLE ARE KEPT UNDER CONTROL ;
 FOR AN ABSOLUTELY GUILTELESS MAN IS HARD TO FIND ; IT IS
 THROUGH FEAR OF PUNISHMENT THAT THE WORLD SUBSERVES THE
 EXPERIENCES (OF MEN).—(22).

Bhāṣya.

A man who, by his very nature, is 'guile-less', in matters relating to duty, wealth and pleasures, is 'hard to find,' can be met with difficulty. In fact, it is 'by punishment' that a man is 'kept under control', kept firm in the right path ; through fear of it, he does not give free vent to his desires.

'The world subserves etc.'—This has been already explained (under 15).—(22)

VERSE (23).

IT IS ONLY WHEN PRESSED BY PUNISHMENT THAT DEVAS, DĀNAVAS
 GANDHARVAS, RĀKṢASAS, BIRDS AND REPTILES SUBSERVE
 THE EXPERIENCES (OF OTHERS).—(23).

Bhāṣya.

'Devas'—i.e. the God of Rain, of Wind, the Sun and so forth.

'Subserve the experiences'—e.g. by periodic heat, cold and rain, help in the development of the herbs and so forth.

All this is due to their being afraid of being punished. If it were not so, why should the Sun and the Moon, or Brahmā and the God of Rain, not swerve from their appointed task? If the Sun were not under some such control, he might not rise at all for two or three days ; from fear of punishment, however, he never transgresses the prescribed limits. Says the Shruti text—'It is through fear that the Sun shines, it is through fear that the Moon shines, and it is through fear that Fire and Wind (function.)'

That the Dānavas and other evil spirits do not go on destroying the Universe all day and night, is due to the power of punishment. That the birds that adorn households—such as the

parrot and the rest—do not take out the eyes of children,—that kites, crows, vultures and eagles do not devour the young children,—this also is due to the same cause.

Reptiles, serpents, abounding as they do, in anger and poison, do not all gather together and sting all living beings,—this also is due to the power of punishment.

For these reasons the text has provided this eulogy on punishment that, when even the extremely powerful gods and the rest, and the non-intelligent things also do not swerve from their appointed path, through fear of punishment,—what to say of human beings !

In this connection the ancients have quoted the following verse—‘Seeing the humble position of the wild *Pātala*-tree, and the flamboyant floral display of the *Kuṭaja*,—by this subversion of relation he laughed (thinking) that even the low-born strikes at an opening’. (?)—(23)

VERSE (24).

ALL THE CASTES WOULD BECOME CORRUPT, ALL BARRIERS WOULD BE BROKEN THROUGH, AND THERE WOULD BE DISRUPTION AMONG ALL THE REGIONS,—IF THERE WERE ANY MISTAKES IN REGARD TO PUNISHMENT.—(24).

Bhāṣya.

‘*Mistakes regarding punishment*’—i.e. its non-infliction, or its infliction in an unlawful manner. If there were any such, then ‘*all the castes would become corrupt*’ ; as unrestricted intercourse would lead to a confusion of castes.

‘*Barriers*’—bounds—‘*would be broken through*’ ;—all restrictions would disappear ; *Brāhmaṇas* would behave like *Shūdras* and *Shūdras* like *Brāhmaṇas*. In this manner ‘*there would be disruption among all regions*’ ;—i.e. the three regions would not help each other by imparting rain, heat and the rest.—(24)

VERSE (25).

WHERE DARK-COMPLEXIONED AND RED-EYED PUNISHMENT STALKS ABOUT, DESTROYING SINS, THERE THE PEOPLE ARE NOT MISLED, PROVIDED THAT THE GOVERNOR DISCERNS RIGHTLY.--(25)

Bhāṣya.

These two are most praiseworthy for men (?). The author eulogises punishment by means of an imaginary metaphor.

Punishment is of two kinds--one kind inspires fear, and another brings pain ; the former is indicated by the '*dark complexion*' and the latter by the '*red eyes*'.

The praise of punishment has been furnished.

Punishment should be inflicted, but with due consideration of the exigencies of time, place &c. Apart from this all else is purely commendatory.

'*Provided that the governor*'--he who mētes out the punishment--'*discerns rightly*' ; i. e. rules over the people after due consideration of time, place &c. ;--'*the people are not misled*--do not become affected by any evil.--(25).

VERSE (26)

THEY DECLARE THAT KING TO BE THE JUST GOVERNOR WHO IS TRUTHFUL OF SPEECH, WHO ACTS AFTER DUE CONSIDERATION, WHO IS WISE AND WHO KNOWS THE ESSENCE OF VIRTUE, PLEASURE AND WEALTH.--(26)

Bhāṣya.

The justness of the governor consists in the following qualities--(a) truthfulness, (b) the habit of doing things after due consideration, (c) wisdom and (d) a true discernment of the three aims of man.

'*Truthful of speech*'--he who, having inflicted the punishment in due accordance with Law, does not enhance it on becoming apprised of the fact of the culprit being a very wealthy person,--or does not reduce it through considerations of friendship towards him.

‘*Wise*’—he who fully understands the mutual effects of time, place &c. and their special relations ; sometimes the effect of the time is nullified by that of place, and *vice-versa* ; or both these are nullified by considerations of Learning and Power ; and who also recognises the special relations among them, as regards their wider or more restricted application. Under certain circumstances what has been the nullifier before becomes the nullified. So that *wisdom* is necessary for the proper discernment of this ; and also for recognising the relative importance or non-importance of virtue, pleasure and wealth. For instance, if it is found that the acquiring of a little virtue would lead to a great evil (discomfort or loss of wealth), that virtue may be abandoned ; and this abandonment may be expiated by penances.—(26).

• VERSE (27).

THE KING WHO METES OUT PUNISHMENT IN THE PROPER MANNER PROSPERS IN RESPECT OF HIS THREE AIMS ; HE WHO IS BLINDED BY AFFECTION, UNFAIR, OR MEAN IS DESTROYED BY THAT SAME PUNISHMENT.—(27).

Bhāṣya.

‘*Blinded by affection*’—he who is unduly influenced by love.

‘*Unfair*’—inclined to be irascible. The King prospers if he metes out punishment on a friend or a foe in the same impartial spirit.

‘*Mean*’—inclined to take undue advantage.

‘*Is destroyed by that same punishment*’—either through evil passions aroused among the people, or through some imperceptible effects.—(27).

• VERSE (28).

PUNISHMENT, WHICH IS A TREMENDOUS FORCE, HARD TO BE CONTROLLED BY PERSONS WITH UNDISCIPLINED MINDS, DESTROYS THE KING WHO HAS SWERVED FROM DUTY, ALONG WITH HIS RELATIVES.—(28).

Bhāṣya.

Punishment is a tremendous force ; and it cannot be properly administered by persons who have not been disciplined by the study of the scriptures and the service of teachers, or by inborn humility.

One should not entertain the idea that 'punishment can be meted out by mere word of command, and there is no difficulty in controlling it;' because if a King is not careful with regard to it, and does not devote special attention to it, he commits mistakes, and is, on that account, destroyed by the Punishment, along with his relatives. The King is struck down not only physically by himself, but along with his whole family of sons and grandsons.—(28).

• VERSE (29)

THEN IT WILL AFFLICT HIS FORTRESS AND KINGDOM, THE WORLD
ALONG WITH MOVABLE AND IMMOVABLE THINGS, AS ALSO THE
SAGES AND THE GODS INHABITING THE HEAVENLY REGIONS.—(29)

Bhāṣya.

When Punishment is inflicted without due consideration of time, place &c., there is destruction of the whole kingdom along with the King and together with all animals and immovable things. Hence the King has to be warned of this by his ministers and his people; or these latter should leave the kingdom.

The sages and the gods are also afflicted;—the gods live upon offerings made by the inhabitants of the earth; hence when, on account of the disruption of the kingdom, there is no proper performance of sacrificial acts &c., the gods and the sages are as good as 'destroyed.' Says the author of the Purāṇas—

'Whatever is done by persons of the various castes and stages, that has been declared to be the source of maintenance for persons of divine origin in heaven and the other regions'.

The upshot of all that has been said from the first verse to this is as follows:—‘The kingdom has got to be ruled by a Kṣatriya of impartial mind;—this cannot be done without punishment; hence this should be meted out, in his own kingdom as also elsewhere, in strict accordance with the Law, after a full investigation of the exigencies of time and place &c., relating to each case;—if it is inflicted otherwise, there is destruction of both worlds.’

The rest of it all is purely a commendatory supplement.—(29)

SECTION (3)

The King's Assistants.

VERSE (30)

PUNISHMENT CANNOT BE JUSTLY ADMINISTERED BY ONE WHO HAS NO ASSISTANT, OR WHO IS DEMENTED, OR WHO IS AVARICIOUS, OR WHOSE MIND IS NOT DISCIPLINED, OR WHO IS ADDICTED TO SENSUAL OBJECTS.—(30)

Bhāṣya

The present section is taken up for the purpose of indicating the necessity of associating assistants with one's self.

A King who is not helped by assistants, in the shape of able councillors, army-commanders, administrators of justice,—all which are going to be described,—cannot justly administer punishment alone by himself ; even though he be fully endowed with all necessary qualities of justice and expediency. 'Justice' consists in decision that is in due accordance with Law and is in keeping with the peculiarities of time, place &c.

For this reason it is necessary for the King to employ properly qualified assistants.

The meaning is that punishment cannot be justly administered by the King without assistants,—just as it cannot be administered by one who is foolish or demented, or whose mind is not properly trained, or who is addicted to sensual objects, or is avaricious—and hence confiscates people's property in an unjust manner. It can be rightly administered only by persons possessed of qualities that are the reverse of these.—(30).

This same idea is expressed obversely in the next verse.

VERSE.(31)

PUNISHMENT CAN BE ADMINISTERED BY ONE WHO IS PURE, WHO IS TRUE TO HIS WORD, WHO ACTS ACCORDING TO THE LAW, WHO HAS GOOD ASSISTANTS AND IS WISE.—(31)

Bhāṣya.

‘*Pure*’—not covetous.

‘*True to his word*’—who attaches great importance to truth ; who, in all his acts, places truth in the fore-front ; which means that he has his senses under control ; for how can there be any truthfulness in one whose senses are not subdued ?

‘*Who acts according to the Law*’,—‘*who has good assistants*’—whose assistants are properly qualified ; i. e. assisted by such assistants as are not illiterate, and who are devoted to him.

‘*Wise*’—intelligent ;—this is the reverse of the ‘demented’ person mentioned in the preceding verse.

• Thus he who is equipped with these five qualities, and free from the corresponding five contrary qualities, is the person entitled to administer punishment, and to partake of the visible (physical) and invisible (moral) results proceeding therefrom. Such is the sense of these two verses.—(31).

SECTION (4.)

Duties of the King.

VERSE (32.)

IN HIS OWN KINGDOM HE SHALL BE OF JUST BEHAVIOUR, AND ON HIS ENEMIES HE SHALL INFLICT RIGOROUS CHASTISEMENT ; WITH LOVED FRIENDS HE SHALL BE STRAIGHTFORWARD AND TOWARDS BRĀHMAṆAS TOLERANT.—(32)

Bhāṣya.

The name 'own kingdom' is based upon the fact of the territory having been inherited from one's forefathers ; e.g. Kāsh-mīra would be 'own kingdom' for the King of Kāsh-mīra, Pāñchāla would be 'own kingdom' for the King of Pāñchāla ; and so forth. Therein 'he shall be of just behaviour', i. e. act with justice ;—he who behaves with justice is said to be 'of just behaviour' ; the compound being expounded as a *Bahuvrīhi*.

'*Nyāyavṛttiḥ*' is another reading.

The foregoing clause having reiterated what has been already enjoined before, the Author enjoins 'rigorous chastisement' towards enemies. The sense is that he shall attack the enemy's territories outright, not waiting for any such favourable opportunity as the enemy being beset with difficulties or attacked by other kings. By acting thus, the king acquires a glamour of glory ; and to one who has attained this glamour, the enemies bow down.

Towards all *Brāhmaṇas*, he shall be 'tolerant' ; i. e. even when they have committed an offence, punishment shall be meted out to them in a merciful, and not a revengeful, spirit.

When a king is attacking another kingdom, he does not destroy the inhabitants of that realm, if it is at all possible to save them.

Towards '*loved friends*' he shall be '*straightforward*'—free, from duplicity. One who helps in the accomplishment of the king's business, and who regards his business as his own and who looks upon his prosperity and adversity as his own, is his '*loved friend*'.—(32).

VERSE (33)

FOR THE KING WHO BEHAVES THUS, EVEN THOUGH HE MAY SUBSIST UPON GLEANINGS, HIS FAME SPREADS IN THE WORLD, LIKE THE DROPS OF OIL ON WATER.—(33)

Bhāṣya.

This is a praise of the conduct described.

'*Even though he may subsist on gleanings*'—i. e. even though his treasure be empty.

'*His fame spreads*'—becomes well known. And as a result of this, other kingdoms submit to him, and people of his own kingdom, through love for him, cease to deviate from the path of duty.—(33)

VERSE—(34)

BUT FOR THE KING WHO DEVIATES FROM IT HAVING NO CONTROL OVER HIMSELF, HIS FAME DIMINISHES IN THE WORLD, LIKE THE DROP OF CLARIFIED BUTTER ON WATER.—(34)

Bhāṣya.

'He who deviates'—swerves—from the aforesaid behaviour—and the reason for this is that he has '*no control over himself*'—i. e. who has not disciplined his mind in the manner prescribed in the scriptures.—(34)

VERSE (35).

THE KING HAS BEEN CREATED THE PROTECTOR OF ALL CASTES AND ORDERS, WHO, IN DUE ORDER, ARE INTENT UPON THEIR RESPECTIVE DUTIES.—(35).

Bhāṣya.

The King has been created as the protector of people intent upon their duties ; so that if the King fails to protect those who are engaged in their duties, he incurs sin ; on the other hand, if those who have swerved from their duty happen to be attacked by some person, this would not entail any grievous offence on the part of the King. This is what is meant by the phrase '*respective duties*.'

Or, the passage may be construed as containing a negative particle prefixed to the term '*niviṣṭānām*', which is to be read as '*a-niviṣṭānām*', '*not conversant*.' The meaning in this case would be that 'the king shall not adopt a hostile attitude towards those persons who are not conversant with their duties through the scriptures or through the advice of friends and others'.

The term 'caste' has been added for the purpose of securing protection for women and children also,—these not belonging to any 'order.'

"In that case why should the orders have been mentioned?"

It is for the purpose of indicating their predominance that they have been separately mentioned ; the expression being analogous to such expressions as '*Brāhmaṇa-Vāśiṣṭha*' (the Brāhmaṇas and those of the race of Vāśiṣṭha, where the latter, though included among 'Brāhmaṇas' are mentioned separately with a view to indicate their importance).

Or, the particular form of the expression may have been adopted for the purpose of indicating the motive (of protection) ; the sense being that they should be protected in such a way that they do not deviate from their duties in the shape of proceeding from stage to stage, saying of the Twilight Prayers and so forth ; in the performance of their ordinary duties they shall not be permitted to be struck with a stick etc. by other people, for if this protection were not vouchsafed, there would be no end to troubles and difficulties. This is the 'protection' that is meant here.

Nor should people be allowed to interfere with the fulfilment of such caste-duties as the saying of the Twilight Prayers and the like. Thus a twofold duty rests upon the King; hence the mention of both 'castes' and 'orders.'

This is what is meant by the words of Gautama--'He shall protect according to Law, the castes and orders' (11-9).--(35).

VERSE (36)

WHATEVER SHOULD BE DONE BY HIM AND HIS SERVANTS, FOR THE PROTECTING OF HIS PEOPLE, ALL THAT I AM GOING TO EXPLAIN TO YOU PRECISELY AND IN DUE ORDER--(36)

Bhāṣya.

This verse is indicative of what is going to be expounded.

By the King and his 'servants'—i. e. his assistants--whatever has to be done for the protection of his people, that is now going to be described.--(36).

VERSE (37)

AFTER RISING IN THE MORNING, THE KING SHALL WAIT UPON THE BRĀHMAṆAS, WHO ARE ACCOMPLISHED STUDENTS OF THE THREE-FOLD SCIENCE AND LEARNED; AND SHALL FOLLOW THEIR ADVICE.--(37)

Bhāṣya.

'In the morning, having risen'--having left the bed and having said the Twilight Prayers in the prescribed manner,--he shall, first of all, grant an audience to the *Brāhmaṇas*. 'Waiting upon' stands for making them sit close by and making enquiries regarding their welfare.

The prefix 'pari' has been added only for the filling up of the metre.

‘*Shall follow their advice*’. If they should happen to press for a favour for some one, their motive should not be suspected, nor should anything wrong be done.

‘*Accomplished students of the Threelfold Science*’. The aggregate of the three Vedas is called ‘Threelfold Science’; those who have studied these are called ‘*students of the Threelfold Science*’, i. e. those who have studied the R̥gveda, the Yajurveda and the Sāmaveda.

‘*Learned*’—Those who know what is contained in the Vedas.

The King shall wait upon Brāhmaṇas thus qualified ; and shall act up to their behests.

‘*Accomplished*’—those who are the best, possessed of the most excellent qualifications, among them, in regard to the said knowledge and learning.—(37).

VERSE (38)

EVERY DAY HE SHALL WAIT UPON ELDERLY PERSONS, BRĀHMAṆAS, PURE AND LEARNED IN THE VEDAS; HE WHO CONSTANTLY WAITS UPON ELDERLY PERSONS IS HONOURED EVEN BY RĀKṢASAS.—(38)

Bhāṣya.

‘*Elderly*’—aged—Brāhmaṇas. This alone is something new enjoined here; all the rest of it, ‘Brāhmaṇas’ and so forth, is what has been already declared before.

‘*Pure*’—free from defects. This also is something new ; the meaning being that ‘purity’ is as good a reason for being honoured as ‘knowledge and learning.’

The second half of the verse is purely commendatory.

‘*By Rākṣasas.*’—As a rule, *Rākṣasas* are pitiless, very powerful and devoid of all virtues ; and yet even these honour the person who waits upon elderly men.—(38).

VERSE (39)

THOUGH HIS MIND BE ALREADY DISCIPLINED, HE SHALL ALWAYS LEARN DISCIPLINE FROM THEM ; THE KING WITH A DISCIPLINED MIND NEVER PERISHES.—(39).

Bhāṣya.

The use of waiting upon elderly men is next described.

'From them'—from the learned *Brāhmaṇas*—'he shall learn discipline'—the proper kingly behaviour.

'Though his mind be already disciplined';—though he may be already disciplined by his own will, or by the proper study of political science,—yet he should carefully attend to the advice of elderly persons ; because men with practical experience are better experts than those possessing only theoretical knowledge. Or even though highly trained, he shall train his mind under elderly qualified men, for the purpose of making his aptitude keener. Just as gold, even though pure by its nature, becomes purer and brighter to look at when it undergoes purification by being put in fire.

The reward of this discipline is that the King never perishes—(39)

VERSE (40)

MANY KINGS, ALONG WITH THEIR BELONGINGS, HAVE PERISHED THROUGH WANT OF DISCIPLINE ; WHILE, ON ACCOUNT OF DISCIPLINE, MANY, EVEN THOUGH LIVING IN FORESTS, HAVE OBTAINED KINGDOMS.—(40).

Bāṣhya.

What has been stated above is further emphasised by means of the next three verses.

Undisciplined kings, have perished 'along with their belongings'. '*Belongings*' stand for the son, wife, elephants, horses and so forth.

On the other hand, those who are disciplined never lose their kingdom, after having got it ; in fact even when living far off in the forest, and hence devoid of any treasure &c., they have obtained kingdoms.—(40).

VERSE (41)

IT WAS THROUGH WANT OF DISCIPLINE THAT VENA PERISHED, AS ALSO KING NAHUSA, SUDAS, PAIJAVANA, SUMUKHA AND NIMI.—(41)

Bhāṣya.

In support of both assertions they cite instances of well-known Kings. The stories of these Kings are to be learnt from the *Mahābhārata*.—(41)

VERSE (42)

BUT THROUGH DISCIPLINE PRTHU AND MANU OBTAINED KINGDOMS, KUBERA OBTAINED THE LORDSHIP OF WEALTH AND THE SON OF GĀDHI ATTAINED BRĀHMAṆAHOOD.—(42)

Bhāṣya.

‘The son of Gadhi attained Brahmanahood.’—

Objection—“In connection with the subject of Kings and kingdoms, where was the occasion for citing an instance of the attaining of *Brahmanahood* ? It was necessary to cite cases of the obtaining of kingdoms only, as was done in the first half of the verse.”

Our answer is that as a matter of fact a higher caste is more difficult to attain than sovereignty over riches, because the higher caste carries with it all its privileges.

Objection—“But how can, *vinaya*, discipline, be the cause of that ? ‘Discipline’ consists in such qualifications as—the proper employment of the six means of success, alertness, thrift, non-avariciousness, freedom from evil habits, and so forth, and not

one of these can be the cause of bringing about Brāhmaṇahood, In fact Austerity has been declared to be the cause of that, in such texts as—'Vishvāmitra practised austerities with the view that he may not remain the son of a non-sage' and so forth."

Our answer is as follows:—The '*Naya*', 'conduct', here spoken of (as '*Vinaya*', 'discipline'), is not what has been described in the Science of Politics; it is what has been enjoined in the scriptures and is observed in ordinary practice; and in the scriptures it has been laid down that 'by means of Austerity, the higher caste is attained during another life'; while in the case of Vishvāmitra, Brāhmaṇahood was attained during the same life in which he was a *Kṣattriya*, as has been described in the books—(42)

• VERSE (43)

FROM PERSONS LEARNED IN THE THREEFOLD SCIENCE HE SHALL LEARN
THE TRIAD; AS ALSO THE ANCIENT SCIENCE OF GOVERNMENT,
THE SCIENCE OF REASONING AND THE SCIENCE OF THE SOUL;
• AND ALSO THE ART OF COMMERCE FROM EXPERTS—(43)

Bhāṣya.

If we read '*vidyām*' with the Accusative ending (instead of '*vidyāt*', the Injunctive verb), it will have to be construed with '*Adhiyachekhēt*', 'shall learn' (of verse 39).

In as much as it is laid down that the King is to be anointed only after he has passed through the stage of studentship, during which the Vedas will have been already learnt,—the present injunction is to be taken as pertaining to his continuing his study.

'*The three-fold science*' is that science which has three component parts; and he who learns this is said to be 'versed' in the three-fold science';—from these he shall learn the '*Triad*',—i. e. the three Vedas, the Rk. and the rest. That is, in all doubtful matters, he shall decide with the help of the Vedas; and he shall discuss the exact meaning of Vedic texts with the said learned

persons; and he shall not disregard knotty points thinking himself to be a powerful King and hence influenced by pride and haughtiness.

'Also the Science of Government';—the science relating to 'danda', and 'danda' is ruling, governing; that whereby enemies as also people inhabiting his own kingdom, when doing wrong, are kept in check; and this 'governance' consists in the employment of suitable ministers &c. The 'science' of this consists of the rules pertaining to it. This also he shall learn from persons versed in it, and knowing the works of Chāṇakya and other writers.

'Ancient';—this is purely eulogistic.

Though with the help of the Science of Government alone he may be enable to know the entire world, yet, in as much as that science is based upon induction, and the Science of Reasoning serves the purpose of bringing intelligence to the dull and corroboration to the intelligent,—it is necessary to supplement the said science with the Science of Reasoning, as also the Science of Politics and so forth; so also the Science of the Soul.

Or the terms 'ānvīkṣikī' and 'ātmavidyā' may be construed together; the meaning being—'that Science of Reasoning which is beneficial to one's self';—that he should learn; as it is only such beneficial science that can be useful to him, in subjugating evil habits, misfortunes and mental disturbances. As for the Science of Reasoning propounded by the *Buddhas*, the *Charvākas* and other atheists, they cannot be of much use to him; on the contrary, they are likely to shake his faith, if he does not happen to be exceptionally intelligent.

When the king learns the Science of Reasoning by itself, then he becomes capable of employing choice language in his communications with envoys;—so that he does not become open to ridicule.

'The Art of Commerce'.—The acquiring of the knowledge of market-commodities, and the knowledge of trade-methods, with the help of Bṛhaspati's work, constitutes 'Commerce'; and

activity pertaining thereto constitutes the 'Art of Commerce'; that is, learning the theories of commerce and then putting them into practice.

This he shall learn from '*experts*'—i. e. persons making a living by trade; these alone are '*experts*' in matters relating to commerce.

The term '*from experts*' may be construed with the two preceding terms ('Science of Reasoning' and 'Science of Soul') also; so that we get at the meaning that all these three are to be learnt from men expert in them.—(43)

VERSE (44)

DAY AND NIGHT HE SHALL PUT FORTH AN EFFORT TO SUBDUE HIS SENSES; BECAUSE HE WHOSE SENSES ARE SUBJUGATED IS CAPABLE OF KEEPING HIS SUBJECTS UNDER CONTROL.—(44)

Bhāṣya.

Though the subjugation of the senses has been already enjoined among the 'Duties of Students' as beneficial for all men, yet it is again reiterated among the 'Duties of Kings' with a view to indicate that this forms an important factor in their training.

This is what is meant by the words—'*He whose senses are subjugated &c. &c.*' It is a fact well known to all men that one whose senses are not subdued does not succeed in keeping his subjects under control.

'*Effort*'—intense exertion.

'*Day and night*'—During the day as well as during the night.--(44)

VERSE (45)

HE SHALL SHUN THE TEN RUINOUS VICES SPRINGING FROM LOVE OF PLEASURE, AS ALSO THE EIGHT ARISING FROM ANGER.--(45)

Bhāṣya.

This verse adds a further reason for subjugating the senses.

One whose senses are not subdued cannot avoid the vices. 'Durantāni', 'Ruinous',—whose end is painful. In the beginning vices bring a certain amount of pleasure, but afterwards they lead to ruin ; hence they are called 'ruinous'.

Or the term 'durantāni' may mean *whose end cannot be got at*; i. e. people caught in a vice cannot escape from it.

Those that have their source in 'love of pleasure' are called 'Kāmasamuttha'—(45)

The author explains the reason for avoiding vices and also their relative importance and unimportance.

VERSE (46)

THE KING WHO IS ADDICTED TO VICES SPRINGING FROM THE LOVE OF PLEASURE BECOMES DEPRIVED OF WEALTH AND VIRTUE; WHILE HE WHO IS ADDICTED TO THOSE PROCEEDING FROM ANGER BECOMES BEREFT OF HIS VERY SOUL.—(46)

The deprivation of the soul is, in the former case, intervened by the deprivation of wealth and virtue.

In the case of those arising from anger, he becomes deprived of everything. This is the difference between the two sets (46)

The said vices are now re-counted by name :—

VERSE (47)

HUNTING, DICE, SLEEPING DURING THE DAY, CENSORIOUSNESS, WOMEN, INTOXICATION, MUSICAL TRIAD AND LISTLESS WANDERING CONSTITUTE THE TEN-FOLD SET ARISING FROM THE LOVE OF PLEASURE.—(47),

Bhāṣya.

Killing of animals for purposes of the chase is '*Hunting*'.

'*Dice*'—Gambling with dice. That these two lead to evil consequences is well known.

'*Sleeping during the day*'.—i. e. not acting at the time at which a certain action should be done. The term '*divā*' here does not stand for the *day* only ; this same idea being expressed elsewhere by means of the phrase '*sleeping at the time of waking*'.

Or, the term may be taken in its literal sense; sleeping during the day is positively prohibited, and it stands in the way of all business. This habit causes disappointment to men who want an interview with the king, and also to others ; and as such becomes a source of discontent among the people.

'*Censoriousness*'—the criticising of other people's faults in private. This displeases all men. As for the blaming of persons who do not deserve it, this in itself constitutes a sin.

'*Women*', '*intoxication*'—the fact of these two being evils is well known. '*Musical triad* i. e. dancing, singing and instrumental music.

'*Listless wandering*'—walking about hither and thither, either for no purpose, or for a wicked purpose.

'*Tenfold*'—which are ten in number.

'*Arising from the love of pleasure*', '*Kāma*' ;—'*Kāma*' is desire, from which they arise ;—or they arise from a particular kind of pleasure ;—or '*Kāmya*' may mean *arising from a particular experienced object*.—(47).

VERSE (48)

TALE-BEARING, TREACHERY, ENVY, SLANDERING, MISAPPROPRIATION OF PROPERTY, CRUELTY OF SPEECH AND OF ASSAULT ;—THESE CONSTITUTE THE EIGHTFOLD SET BORN OF ANGER.—(48).

Bhāṣya.

‘ *Tale-bearing* ’—the disclosing of such secrets as are to be kept from monitors and other official relatives.

‘ *Violence* ’—the employing of superior men in derogatory acts ; or hand-cutting or imprisoning men for slight offences.

‘ *Treachery* ’—killing secretly.

‘ *Envy* ’—desire to strike or even take away the life.

‘ *Slandering* ’—not brooking the good qualities of men, and exposing their weak points.

‘ *Misappropriation of property* ’.—not giving ;—in fact taking away what belongs to others ; also the depriving from public use of what is public property.

‘ *Cruelty of speech and assault* ’—are well known.

‘ *Anger* ’—hate. Those mentioned partake of the nature of Hate.—(48).

VERSE (49)

WITH GREAT EFFORT HE SHALL SUBDUE THAT GREEDINESS WHICH ALL WISE MEN REGARD AS THE ROOT OF BOTH THESE ; BOTH THESE SETS ARISE OUT OF THAT.—(49)

Bhāṣya.

It has been said that Greediness is at the root of the set of vices born of love of pleasure ; ‘love of pleasure’ consists in hankering after the objects of enjoyment ; and ‘hankering,’ ‘desire,’ ‘greediness’ are synonymous.

“But how can greediness be the root of the set of vices arising from Anger, on the basis of which it is said that *both these sets arise out of that* ? ”

Our answer is as follows :—What is meant is not that the two sets of vices have Greediness for their cause, but that Greediness is equal to the two sets of vices ;—the sense being that greediness

ness alone by itself—even when appearing in a man free from the vices,—produces all those evils which all the said vices produce ; to which end we have the assertion—‘ greediness destroys all good qualities.’ It is in this sense that we have the figurative assertion that ‘both these sets arise out of that.’ If there were no Greediness, how could there appear results similar to those of greediness ? In fact, it is the defect in the cause that indicates the defect in the effect ; hence, if there is any evil in the vices, appearing as the effects of greediness, it follows that there is a like evil in the cause also.

Or, the meaning may be that as a rule it is only the greedy person who becomes addicted to Tale-bearing and other shunable acts. Other persons, even in small matters, become appeased even by slight entreaties. And it is this that is spoken of figuratively by describing the two sets of vices as arising out of greediness.—(49.)

VERSE (50.)

IN THE SET ARISING FROM LOVE OF PLEASURE,—DRINKING, DICE, WOMEN AND HUNTING ARE TO BE REGARDED AS THE FOUR MOST PERNICIOUS, IN THE ORDER IN WHICH THEY ARE NAMED.—(50)

Bhāṣya.

It is well known that these four are more harmful than ‘sleeping during the day’ and other vices.—(50)

VERSE (51)

IN THE SET BORN OF ANGER,—ASSAULT, CRUELTY OF SPEECH AND MISAPPROPRIATION OF PROPERTY,—ARE TO BE REGARDED AS THE THREE MOST PERNICIOUS.—(51).

Bhāṣya.

It is well known that these three are worse than Tale-bearing and other vices.—(51)

VERSE. (52)

THE SELF-DISCIPLINED MAN SHOULD KNOW THAT IN THIS SET OF SEVEN WHICH SPREADS EVERYWHERE, EACH PRECEDING VICE IS MORE SERIOUS THAN THE SUCCEEDING ONE.—(52).

Bhāṣya

Between Drinking and Gambling, Drinking is the more serious; because this entails loss of consciousness; by it the unmaddened man becomes maddened, the living man becomes dead, the man exposes his private parts, loses his friends, is abandoned by good men and becomes associated with bad persons; becomes addicted to singing and other vices, shamelessly gives out his love and other secrets; the respected man becomes an object of obloquy, even the otherwise serious man becomes liable to talk at random, when suffering from intoxication. Such are the evil effects of Drinking. In the case of Gambling on the other hand, the man who knows the art of gambling always wins, and also for one who does not know the art there is only partial loss.

Between Woman and Gambling, the vice of Gambling is more serious. In Gambling what is won by the man becomes poison for himself; winning always gives rise to enmities, since it is only loss that is common to several people; it also leads to the loss of what may have been already enjoyed; then again, on account of the checking of the calls of nature, the body becomes dull and a breeding-ground of disease; so that even slight causes become productive of much pain; (such is the spirit of gambling that) even at the death of his mother the man keeps on his gambling; even when he has attained success, he cannot be drawn away from it even by his well-wishers; he ceases to trust even such persons as avoid other people's belongings like heated iron; he neglects to give food and other things to persons that are hungry and in straitened circumstances; even though endowed with all estimable qualities, he comes to be despised, as a blade of grass. Such are the evils of gambling. In the vice

connected with woman on the other hand, there is this good, that the man obtains children, enjoys excellent dinners and nice articles of toilet; so that he secures wealth as well as some virtue. Further, it is possible to employ women on state-business, and also for the purpose of rendering people open to stigma and censure.

Between Woman and Hunting, the vice in connection with women is more serious. Under its influence, the King neglects his business; becoming addicted to women, he acquires distaste for state-business, he wastes time and loses in virtue, becomes addicted to the evils of drinking as also to lying and other pernicious habits. In Hunting on the other hand, there is physical exercise, a lessening of the humours of bile and phlegm, reduction of obesity, marksmanship in aiming at moving as well as standing targets, also practice of hitting; the king also acquires a degree of alertness and cultivates the acquaintance of the village-folk.

Thus in the set of four vices proceeding from love of pleasure, that which precedes is more abominable than that which follows.

In the set born of anger also, assaulting is beset with evils, and is followed by addiction to lying and other evil habits. Between Assaulting and Cruelty of speech, Assaulting is more serious. In the case of assault, making up becomes impossible, while in the case of cruel speech the fire of anger and hatred is capable of being appeased by the subsequent bestowals of gifts and honour.

Between cruel speech and misappropriation of property, cruel speech is the more serious. Even high-minded persons become afflicted and perturbed in mind by cruel speech. To this effect we have the following saying:—

‘Even a powerful sword, or a black dart, entering the bone may make the body free from pain, when removed; but words never disappear from the heart; that which is pierced by an arrow grows again; the forest cut off by the axe again flourishes; but that which is wounded by rough and indecent speech never flourishes again’.

Misappropriation of property on the other hand is looked upon as an effect of ill-luck and as such high-minded people do not feel keenly about it.

Thus it is shown that in these two sets, the preceding vice is more serious than the succeeding one.—(52)

VERSE (53)

BETWEEN VICE & DEATH, VICE IS SAID TO BE MORE HARMFUL ;
THE VICIOUS MAN SINKS DOWN AND DOWN; BUT THE DEAD MAN,
WITHOUT VICES, ASCENDS TO HEAVEN.—(53)

Bhāṣya.

Though both death and vice deprive one of every thing, yet there is this difference between them that death deprives one of everything, only in this world, while vice deprives him of all things in this world as well as in heaven.

'The vicious man sinks down and down'—falls into hell.

The term '*vicious*' denotes excessive addiction to the aforesaid sets of vices. Hence it is such repeated addiction that is forbidden; not merely having recourse to them once in a way.

These vices become destructive of virtue, wealth, pleasure and life, even in the case of ordinary men; what to say of Kings? At the same time it would not be right to abandon drinking etc. entirely; nor would it be possible; hence it is the habit that is forbidden.—(53)

VERSE (54)

HE SHALL APPOINT SEVEN OR EIGHT MINISTERS, WITH RESPECTABLE
STATUS, VERSED IN LAW, OF HEROIC TEMPERAMENT, EXPERIENCED
IN BUSINESS, BORN OF NOBLE FAMILIES, AND THOROUGHLY
TESTED.—(54)

Bhāṣya.

'Of respectable status';—hereditary servants of the king, possessed of many children, and relations and much wealth, openly possessing vast numbers of cattle and landed property, inhabitants of the kingdom. '*Mūla*' is *status*; and those possessed of status are '*maula*'.

'Versed in law';—'*shāstra*' is *law, ordinance*; the law regulating the conduct of servants; hence the term indicates other qualifications also; such as—intelligent, of firm resolve, capable of much hard labour, clever, eloquent, strong, respectable, endowed with courage and energy, able to bear hardships, pure, liberal, equipped with estimable character, free from both tardiness and fickleness, loved by men, not prone to making enemies.

The term '*shūra*', '*of heroic temperament*', indicates one who, in his zeal for the king's work, takes no account of his body, life, children or wealth, and also not afraid of death, ever ready for battle, and though alone, he is ever ready to engage in a fight with many persons,—capable of striking hard, possessed of strength.

'Experienced in business';—this indicates the fact of their having seen much work; those who have actually fought with the sword, who have successfully accomplished their duties, who have had previous experience in ministerial work.

'Born of noble families';—when people are moved by considerations of their noble family, they desist from improper acts.

'Ministers'—assistants. •

These should always remain at the king's side.

'Seven or eight'—This is a restrictive rule; fewer than these are likely to combine,—and this would render the king's consultations one-sided. On the other hand, if they are too many, there is likely to be great diversities of opinion. Hence only seven or eight ministers are to be appointed.

'Thoroughly tested'.—This refers to tests relative to (a) virtue, (b) wealth, (c) love and (d) fear. For instance, (a) The Priest, under the pretext of having been reprimanded in his work, by the king, should approach each of the ministers with large presents sent through trustworthy messengers, with proposals purporting to bring about the king's ruin, saying—'this proposal has been approved by all the ministers, how does it appear to you?'—If the minister thus approached, repudiates the suggestion, he has been 'tested with the test of virtue.'—(b) The army—commander, under a similar pretext of having been reprimanded, may approach one of the ministers with large presents sent through trusted messengers, suggesting proposals for bringing about the king's ruin, saying—'this has been approved by all ministers, what do you think of it?'—If the minister should repudiate the suggestion, he becomes 'tested with the test of wealth.' (c) A female ascetic who is trusted in the king's harem, shall approach each of the ministers, saying—'such and such a queen is in love with you and has made arrangements for meeting you.' If the man repudiates the suggestion, he becomes 'tested with the test of love.'—(d) Some persons, urged by the king himself, should give out the rumour that 'the king is being killed by certain ministers who have made a combination against him'; having heard this rumour, a trusted man in the priest's employ should suggest to the ministers the following plan—'on hearing this rumour the king is going to punish you'; one of these men, having previously entered into the plan, should approach each of the ministers and urge them to activity; the ministers who repudiate this suggestion become 'tested with the test of fear.'

Or, he shall appoint such ministers of finance as are *'maūla'* i. e. capable of collecting and guarding and rightly spending wealth; that is, those who collect wealth from the villages, and carefully keep and rightly spend what has been collected. The meaning thus is that he shall appoint such finance ministers as are experts in money-matters.—*'Versed in law'*—the councillors that he appoints should be learned.—The army-commanders that he appoints should be *'of heroic temperament.'* *'Experienced'* and the other epithets qualify each of those mentioned above.

Some people hold that the 'testing' of ministers, in the manner related above, is not the right thing to do; they hold that such testing may actually produce unfaithful feelings in the minds of the ministers. Hence some other faithful woman (than the queen herself) should be employed (in the test); and the intrigue too should be proposed against some other person than the King himself.—(54)

VERSE (55)

EVEN AN UNDERTAKING THAT IS EASY IS DIFFICULT TO BE ACCOMPLISHED BY A SINGLE MAN, SPECIALLY BY ONE WHO HAS NO ASSISTANT; HOW MUCH MORE SO IS THE WORK OF THE KING, WHICH INVOLVES GREAT ISSUES !—(55)

Ihāṣya.

The ordinary household work of the householder,—such as looking after cattle, house and the rest—has been regarded as 'easy'; the same man tends the cattle and milks the cow. But even so all this cannot be done by a single man; it is still more difficult if the man happens to have no one to assist him; how can he take the cattle to graze, and at the same time look after his wife? As for '*the work of the king*', it is an important undertaking and leads to important results; its proper accomplishment bears important fruits, and important results accrue to the man who fulfills it. But a single man cannot be expected to know all the six 'means of success'. Hence it is necessary for the king to appoint to the several departments of state trusted assistants, who are possessed of qualifications similar to those of the king himself.—(55)

VERSE (56)

WITH THESE HE SHALL ALWAYS DISCUSS ALL ORDINARY BUSINESS RELATING TO PEACE AND WAR, AS ALSO THE 'STATE', THE SOURCES OF REVENUE, THE MEANS OF PROTECTION, AND THE CONSOLIDATION OF WHAT HAS BEEN ACQUIRED.—(56)

**Bhāṣya*.

With the aforesaid councillors and finance-ministers he shall discuss the '*ordinary business*'—what may not be of a very confidential nature—'*relating to peace and war*'; he shall consider *peace and war* ; he shall consider the pros and cons of both sides of the question as to whether on a certain occasion peace or war would be the right course to adopt. But the actual decision he should take himself; so that he may not appear to have been guided by other persons.

He should also discuss the '*state*'; this is fourfold, consisting of Army, Treasure, City and Kingdom. Of these the '*Army*' consists in Elephants, Horses, Chariots and Footsoldiers ; and he shall discuss such things relating to them as maintenance, protection, and the appointment of proper commanders ;—as regards the *Treasury*, it should abound in gold and silver in large quantities, which should not be spent ; the cardinal parts of the Treasury shall never be expended ; nor should payments to servants be delayed ;—as regards the *Kingdom*, which is the same as *country*, it should be maintained intact against encroachment by others, by the careful looking after of rivers and trees and cattle, the building of protective works against possible attacks by enemies ; it should not be allowed to depend entirely on rain, and in times of distress special penalties and taxes shall be levied (?) ;—as regards the *City*, the methods of guarding it are going to be described under 7.75.

Or, '*sthāna*', '*state*', may mean not deviating from its own position.

Similarly he shall also discuss the '*sources of revenue*'—such as agriculture, pastures, barriers, trade, fines and so forth.

'*Means of protection*',—of the king's own kingdom, as going to be described later on.

'*Consolidation of what has been acquired*' ;—the honouring of learned and pious men and the continuance of bounties to

them, the granting of fresh bounties ; and the removal of all restraints ; merciful treatment of the poor and the diseased ; the instituting of fresh public sports and rejoicings and the continuance of those already in vogue. He shall put a stop to all abuses regarding the Treasury and judicial procedure, and introduce sounder methods of work. If there is some improper act done by others he shall stop it ; but he shall not interfere with any righteous act that may be done by others.

In this manner '*State*' and the rest shall be discussed.—(56).

VERSE (57)

HAVING ASCERTAINED THE OPINION OF EACH OF THE MINISTERS INDIVIDUALLY AND ALSO COLLECTIVELY, HE SHALL, IN HIS AFFAIRS, DO WHAT IS BENEFICIAL TO HIMSELF.—(57)

Bhāṣya.

Having ascertained in private the opinion of each of them—the opinion entertained by them in his heart of hearts—also '*collectively*';—he shall do this because some people are shy in assemblies, but bold in private, while others are more fit in assemblies ; hence he shall question the ministers collectively also.

After that he shall do whatever appears to him to be most proper,—'*beneficial to himself*'; be it what one of the ministers themselves may have advised, and had not been opposed by others ; and hence indicated to be free from objections.—(57)

VERSE (58)

WITH THE LEARNED BRĀHMANA, HOWEVER, WHO IS THE MOST DISTINGUISHED OF THEM ALL, THE KING SHALL DISCUSS THE HIGHEST SECRETS PERTAINING TO THE SIX-FOLD STATE-CRAFT.—(58)

Bhāṣya.

'*Learneḍ*'—highly educated, well versed in the science of polity.

'*He shall discuss the highest secret*'—what has to be guarded in absolute secrecy—'*pertaining to the sixfold state-craft.*'

The Brāhmaṇa is, as a rule, possessed of keener intelligence, and being highly virtuous, is absolutely trustworthy.—(58)

VERSE (59)

HE SHALL ALWAYS, IN FULL CONFIDENCE, ENTRUST ALL BUSINESS TO HIM; AND HAVING, IN CONSULTATION WITH HIM, FORMED HIS RESOLUTION, HE SHALL DO WHAT HAS TO BE DONE. (59)

Bhāṣya.

Having entrusted the whole kingdom to the said *Brāhmaṇa*, the king shall enjoy royal pleasures in full confidence and trust.

'*In consultation with him, having formed his resolution, 'he shall do what has to be done'*' ;—such as marching against an enemy, encamping, judicial proceedings, collection of revenue and so forth.—(59).

VERSE (60)

HE SHALL ALSO APPOINT OTHER MINISTERS, WHO ARE PURE, WISE, FIRM, EXPERTS IN COLLECTING REVENUE AND THOROUGHLY TESTED.—(60)

Bhāṣya.

This is an exception to what has been said regarding the appointing of 'seven or eight' ministers (verse 54).

'*Experts in collecting revenue*'—thoroughly experienced in the work of collecting revenue.

'*Tested*'—by the tests (described above).—(60)

VERSE (61)

HE SHALL APPOINT AS MANY INDUSTRIOUS, CLEVER AND SKILFUL MEN AS MAY BE REQUIRED FOR THE ACCOMPLISHMENT OF HIS BUSINESS.—(61)

Bhāṣya.

All these officials to be appointed should be well versed in the art of deliberation, and learned.

‘*Skilful*’.—Even when there is ground for fear and bewilderment, they retain their courage.

‘*Industrious*’—not slothful. It has been declared in the *Adhyakṣaprachāra* that—‘That king alone deserves his kingdom whose minister is intelligent, loyal, industrious, well versed in matters relating to virtue and wealth, pure, clever and of noble family; having entrusted the burden of the kingdom to him, if the king gives himself to pleasure, he does not perish; because even so his kingly duties are duly fulfilled’.—(61)

VERSE (62)

FROM AMONG THEM HE SHALL EMPLOY THE BRAVE, THE EXPERT, THE HIGH-BORN AND THE HONEST ONES IN WORK RELATING TO FINANCE, —SUCH AS MINES AND STORES—AND TIMID ONES IN THE INTERIOR OF THE PALACE.—(62)

Bhāṣya.

‘*Arthē*’, ‘*work relating to finance*’,—i. e. offices pertaining to income and expenditure. In these he shall employ those who are ‘*honest*’—not covetous of wealth.

• Some of these financial offices are indicated by example—‘*mines and stores*’;—‘*mines*’ are places where gold, silver and other precious metals are dug out and cleansed, and ‘*stores*’ consist of food-grains, cotton, seeds and so forth.

'*In the interior of the palace*';—i. e. the inner apartments, the kitchen, the bed-room and the ladies' apartments.—In these he shall appoint '*timid*' persons. Because brave persons, if won over by his enemies, might kill the king, when he may be alone.

All of these should be '*expert*'; they are energetic and, not minding any opposition, never allow their master's work to suffer.—(62)

SECTION. (5)

The Ambassador

VERSE (63)

AS AMBASSADOR HE SHALL APPOINT ONE WHO IS WELL VERSED IN ALL THE SCIENCES, WHO UNDERSTANDS 'HINTS, EXPRESSIONS AND GESTURES, WHO IS HONEST, EXPERT AND BORN OF A NOBLE FAMILY.— 63)

Bhāṣya.

For the Ambassador the further qualification is necessary,—that he should be able to understand '*hints, expressions and gestures*'. When the Ambassador goes to another king and the latter is deliberating with his ministers on questions of peace, there pass among them certain signs ; for instance, the Ambassador is received with studied regard, he is confided in, his entire speeches are frequently praised. [All these he shall take note of.] But of unfavourable signs he shall take no notice.

'*Expressions*'—bodily changes; such as dejected looks, paleness of the face, silence, heaving of sighs, long and hot;—such bodily changes indicate humility, and the clever ambassador infers from these that 'the man has fallen in some dire calamity, that is why he is pale'. On the other hand, when the man talks glibly, his body wears a bloom, the face is happy,—it shows that he is pleased.

'*Honest*'—in his dealings with women ; (this is necessary) since it is through women that secrets generally become divulged and men fall into disgrace.—(63)

VERSE (64)

THAT ROYAL AMBASSADOR IS COMMENDED WHO IS LOYAL, HONEST, CLEVER, POSSESSED OF GOOD MEMORY, CONVERSANT WITH PLACE AND TIME, HANDSOME OF BODY, FEARLESS AND ELOQUENT.—(64)

Bhāṣya.

'Loyal'—who cannot be won over.

'Clever'—does not miss the right time and place.

'Possessed of good memory'—who carries his master's messages intact, without forgetting any part of it.

'Conversant with time and place'.—knowing the proper time and place, he may say things which he may not have been told if it happens to be opportune.

'Handsome'—of goodly appearance. Being handsome to look at, he says things cleverly and in the right manner.

'Fearless';—it is only one who is free from fear who can say things in the proper spirit.

'Eloquent';—he is capable of replying to what may be said in answer to the message brought by him.—(64)

The author proceeds to explain why it is necessary to seek for the said qualities in an ambassador.—

VERSE (65)

THE ARMY IS DEPENDENT UPON THE MINISTER (OF WAR); ON THE ARMY RESTS THE ACT OF RULING ; THE TREASURY AND THE REALM ARE DEPENDENT UPON THE KING, AND UPON THE AMBASSADOR DEPEND PEACE AND ITS OPPOSITE.—(65)

Bhāṣya.

'Upon the minister'—i.e. on the commander—*'is dependent the army'*—composed of the elephant and the rest ; since it is according to his wishes that it operates.

'On the army rests the act of ruling';—since the person, be he an inhabitant of the king's own realm, or of another kingdom, who is to be *'ruled'* has got to be punished ; and the act pertaining thereto is called the *'act of ruling'*.

'The Treasury and the Realm are dependent upon the king'—
'Treasury' is the place of accumulation; and 'realm' is the country;
and these two should not be made over to the charge of any
other person; the king should look after them himself.

'Upon the ambassador depend peace and its opposite.'—'Peace'
is obtained by the use of agreeable word and showing off what
is done by his master; the opposite of this leads to 'war'; both
of these thus are dependent upon the Ambassador.—(65)

The work of the ambassador has thus been eulogised. The
same fact is again reiterated:—

• VERSE (66)

FOR IT IS THE AMBASSADOR ALONE WHO BRINGS TOGETHER ALLIES
AND ALSO ALIENATES THEM; THE AMBASSADOR TRANSACTS
THAT BUSINESS BY WHICH PEOPLE BECOME DISUNITED—(66)

Bhāṣya.

The Ambassador brings about the alliance of kings, and
also disunites those already allied. He does the former by
saying even such agreeable things as he has not been commissioned
to say; and the latter by describing even such unfriendly acts
as may not have been done; by not paying the presents
of gold and other things that he may have brought with him.
In this way he disunites allies.

This business, just spoken of, is transacted by the Ambassador,
and by it kings become disunited.

It is only persons with disagreeable speech that do this—(66)

Another work of the Ambassador is next described:—

VERSE (67—69)

IN CONNECTION WITH THE BUSINESS OF THE FOREIGN KING, HE SHOULD
EXPLORE, BY MEANS OF SECRET HINTS AND TRANSACTIONS, THE
EXPRESSION, THE HINTS AND THE TRANSACTIONS AMONG HIS
SERVANTS, AS ALSO THE INTENTIONS OF THE KING HIMSELF.—(67)

Bhāṣya.

'He'—the ambassador;—'in connection with the business of the king', who is going to be marched against by his employer.
—(67)

VERSES (68—70)

HAVING LEARNT ALL THE PRECISE INTENTIONS OF THE FOREIGN KING,
HE SHALL TAKE SUCH STEPS THAT HE MAY NOT BRING TROUBLE
TO HIMSELF.—(68)

HE SHALL TAKE UP RESIDENCE IN A COUNTRY WHICH IS OPEN,
FULLY SUPPLIED WITH GRAINS, INHABITED ALMOST ENTIRELY BY
MEN OF GENTLE BIRTH, FREE FROM DISEASES, PLEASANT, WHERE
THE VASSALS ARE OBEDIENT AND WHERE LIVING IS EASILY
FOUND.—(69)

SECTION 6.

Fortification.

VERSE (55).

HE SHALL LIVE IN A CITY, TAKING UP HIS RESIDENCE EITHER IN A 'BOW-FORT', OR IN AN 'EARTHEN FORT', OR IN AN 'AQUATIC FORT,' OR IN AN 'ARBORIAL FORT,' OR IN A 'HUMAN FORT,' OR IN A 'HILLY FORT.'—(70)

Bhāṣya.

'*Bow-fort*'—surrounded by a strongly-built wall, built of bricks, double-storeyed, more than 12 cubits high, with its base like the palm and its top like the monkey's head.

'*Earthen fort*'—surrounded by earthen embankments.

'*Aquatic fort*'—surrounded by unfathomable water.

'*Arboreal fort*'—surrounded, to a distance of four miles, with densely-packed large trees.

'*Human fort*'—garrisoned by an army of four divisions, and filled with arms and heroic persons.

'*Hilly fort*'—inaccessibly high, with a single pathway leading to it, supplied with water from an underground stream.—(70)

VERSE (71 & 72).

BY ALL MEANS IN HIS POWER HE SHALL TAKE SHELTER IN A 'HILLY FORT'; BECAUSE AMONG ALL THESE (FORTS) THE HILLY FORT IS DISTINGUISHED BY MANY GOOD QUALITIES.—(71).

THE FIRST THREE OF THESE ARE INHABITED BY DEER, BY ANIMALS LIVING UNDERGROUND AND BY AQUATIC ANIMALS, AND THE LAST THREE BY MONKEYS, MEN AND GODS.—(72).

Bhāṣya.

'*The first three*'—the 'bow-fort' and the rest.

'*Inhabited*'—taken shelter in.

'*Animals living underground*'—the *gargara* (a kind of fish,) the mungoose and the like.

'*Aquatic animals*'—alligators, tortoise and so forth.

This means that the King suffers the good and bad effects that are suffered by the animals inhabiting these places of shelter.

'*The last three*'—'*Plavaṅgama*' is the monkey.—(72)

VERSE (73) .

JUST AS ENEMIES DO NOT HURT THESE BEINGS SHELTERED IN THEIR FORTRESSES, SO ALSO THE ENEMIES DO NOT INJURE THE KING PROTECTED BY HIS FORT.

Bhāṣya.

This verse explains the use of making forts; the sense being that since even extremely weak persons, if sheltered by forts, cannot be easily injured by powerful enemies, it is advisable to take shelter in a fort.—(73)

VERSE (74)

A SINGLE BOW-MAN, STANDING ON A RAMPART, CAN FIGHT AGAINST A HUNDRED; AND A HUNDRED CAN FIGHT AGAINST TEN THOUSAND; IT IS FOR THIS REASON THAT FORTIFICATION HAS BEEN ENJOINED.—(74).

Bhāṣya.

This use of the fort is well known.

Some people have held that the example of the 'rampart' indicates that this refers to the 'hill-fort'. But this is not right;

because ramparts are possible in 'earthen forts' also. Hence the use here described must refer to all kinds of forts.—(74)

VERSE (75)

IT SHOULD BE FULLY EQUIPPED WITH WEAPONS, WITH MONEY AND GRAIN, WITH CONVEYANCES, WITH BRAHMANAS, WITH ARTISANS, WITH MACHINES, WITH FODDER AND WITH WATER,—(75)

Bhāṣya.

'Weapons'—swords, javelins &c.

'Equipped'—supplied.

'Weapons' include also armour, helmet and other accoutrements of war.

'Money'—gold, silver &c.

'Conveyances'—chariots, horses &c.

'Artisans'—men capable of working at machines, *i. e.* carpenters and so forth.

'Fodder'—

'*Brāhmaṇas*'—ministers and priests, as well as others. These may come useful if certain religious acts have got to be done for the allaying of sudden portents etc.

As the list is not meant to be exhaustive, the king should get together also physicians and other persons likely to be of use.

VERSE. (76)

IN THE CENTRE OF THE FORT, HE SHALL GET BUILT FOR HIMSELF A SPACIOUS PALACE, WELL GUARDED, EQUIPPED WITH ALL SEASONS, RESPLENDENT, AND SUPPLIED WITH WATER AND TREES.—(76)

Bhāṣya.

'*Spacious*'—as large as may be necessary for the king, his sons, his treasury, armoury, stables and other necessities.

'Well guarded'—with several compartments.

Such a palace he shall get built for himself.

'Equipped with all seasons'—adorned with flowers and garlands of all seasons: thus all the seasons would be present there. The term *'seasons'* stands for the *products* of the seasons, in the shape of flowers, fruits etc.

If we read *'Sarvartugam'*—it means, 'the place where all the seasons are present'. The sense remains the same in both cases. When a thing is *present* in a place, the place is said to be *equipped* with it.

'Resplendent'—whitewashed with lime.

'Supplied with water and trees'—equipped with fountains, gardens and parks.—(76)

SECTION (7)

Domestic Duties.

VERSE (77)

HAVING OCCUPIED IT, HE SHALL WED A WIFE OF THE SAME CASTE AS HIMSELF, WHO IS EQUIPPED WITH AUSPICIOUS SIGNS, BORN IN A NOBLE FAMILY, CHARMING, AND POSSESSED OF BEAUTY AND EXCELLENT QUALITIES. (77)

Bhasya.

‘Having taken up his residence in it’—the said palace—he should, for the purpose of helping himself, marry a wife from some *‘noble family’*; such an alliance being conducive to his welfare.

‘Of the same caste as himself’ &c.—what is meant by all this has been already explained before (3-4).

• *‘Charming’*—pleasing; endowed with brightness and loveliness of complexion.

‘Beauty’—of good bodily shape.

‘Excellent qualities’—speech, conduct and so forth.

‘Possessed of’—Endowed with.—(77)

VERSE (78).

HE SHALL APPOINT A HOUSEHOLD PRIEST AND SELECT OFFICIATING PRIESTS; THEY SHALL PERFORM HIS DOMESTIC RITES, AS ALSO THE FIRE-SACRIFICES.—(78)

Bhāṣya.

Even though the Accusative case-ending has been used, yet the singular number (in *‘purohitam’*, ‘priest’) should be regarded as significant; specially as the singleness of the household priest has been declared elsewhere also; the present construction being

analogous to that in the case of such sentences as 'he cuts *a post*', 'one should obtain *a wife*', and so forth.

'*He shall select officiating priests*'—The exact number of these should be ascertained from Vedic texts. Their qualifications are—'They should be neither too fat nor too lean, neither too tall nor too short, neither too old nor too young, having at least six ancestors on both sides famed for learning, austerity and actions, their Brāhmaṇa-hood should be above suspicion and they should themselves be learned'; and so forth.

'*Domestic rites*'—those that are performed for the allaying of evil portents and for the securing of welfare.

'*Fire sacrifices*'—sacrificial rites performed in connection with the Three Fires.—(78)

VERSE (79)

THE KING SHALL OFFER VARIOUS SACRIFICES AT WHICH LARGE SACRIFICIAL FEES ARE PAID; AND FOR THE PURPOSE OF ACQUIRING MERIT, HE SHALL PROVIDE FOR BRĀHMAṆAS LUXURIES AND RICHES.—(79)

Bhāṣya.

'*At which large sacrificial fees are paid*'—i.e. the *Paṇḍa-rīka* and other elaborate sacrifices.

'*Luxuries and riches*'.—Clothes, scents, unguents, and rich food constitute the 'luxuries'; and 'riches' consist in silver and gold.

Some people hold that these gifts are obligatory, and not voluntary. This is what is meant by the assertion that this is 'for the purpose of acquiring merit'.—(79).

VERSE (80)

HE SHOULD CAUSE THE YEARLY REVENUE TO BE COLLECTED BY TRUSTED MEN. IN HIS BUSINESS HE SHALL STICK TO THE SCRIP-

TURES ; AND TOWARDS THE PEOPLE HE SHALL BEHAVE LIKE A FATHER.—(80)

Bhāṣya.

'*Revenue*'—the tax, in the shape of the sixth part of the produce of grains.

By trusted men'—by men who have been tested by means of tests.

'*He shall stick to the scriptures*'—as detailed above. That is, he shall have recourse to such sciences of reasoning &c. as depend mostly upon the scriptures. Or, it may mean that he shall receive only such part of the produce as 'tax' as may be sanctioned by established usage, never more than that.

'*Towards the people he shall behave like a father*'.—That is, he shall behave lovingly towards those who pay the taxes, as also towards others.—(80)

VERSE (81)

HERE AND THERE HE SHALL APPOINT SEVERAL PROFICIENT INSPECTORS ; THEY SHALL SUPERVISE ALL THE ACTS OF MEN WORKING FOR HIM.—(81)

Bhāṣya.

'*Inspectors*'—fully authorised supervisors—'*he shall appoint*.'

'*Several*'—of various kinds ; *i.e.* kind-hearted, hard-hearted, righteous and experts in collecting wealth.

'*Here and there*',—in the treasury containing gold, in the collecting of customs and taxes in cash and kind, in looking after the navy, the elephants, the chariots, the horses and the foot-soldiers. To all this he shall appoint '*proficient*' men. All these should be endowed with all the qualities of ministers ; as has been declared in the *Adhyakṣapracāra*—'Those inspectors shall supervise all the works of men who transact the king's

business as his agents,—*e. g.* elephant-keepers in the keeping of elephants, masters of the horse in looking after horses, and keepers of cattle in looking after ploughing and such works'.—(81)

VERSE (82)

HE SHALL DO HONOUR TO THOSE BRĀHMAṆAS WHO HAVE RETURNED FROM THEIR TEACHER'S HOUSE ; FOR KINGS, THIS IS INTERMINABLE ; AND HAS BEEN CALLED 'BRAHMIC TREASURE'.—(82)

Bhāṣya.

He shall honour with gifts those Brāhmaṇas who have learnt the Veda and studied what is contained in it in their teacher's house and are desirous of proceeding to Householdership.

This act of giving also is obligatory on the King. Hence it is said that—'*for the king this is interminable*',—i. e. obligatory, hence interminable, life-long. If it were voluntary, its necessity would cease as soon as its fruits had been attained. This is exactly what is going to be described under 11. 1.

Others however hold that what is enjoined under 11. 1 is the giving of gifts to persons seeking for it, while the present context refers to persons not seeking for gifts ; hence all that is meant is that they shall be duly honoured with such presents as those of a pair of cloth and the like, just in obedience to the injunction laying down such honouring. It is in view of this that the text has said 'he shall do honour to the Brāhmaṇas.'

'*Brahmic*'—entrusted to the Brāhmaṇas.—(82).

VERSE (83)

NEITHER THIEVES, NOR ENEMIES TAKE IT AWAY ; NOR DOES IT PERISH ; HENCE THIS INEXHAUSTIBLE TREASURE SHALL BE DEPOSITED BY THE KING WITH THE BRĀHMAṆAS.—(83)

Bhāṣya.

The wealth that is given away to *Brāhmaṇaḥ*, that 'no thieves'—forest-robbers—can take away ; enemies also cannot

take it. Nor does it become lost—either in the form of treasure buried underground, of which the exact position cannot be recalled, or in the form of security.—(83)

VERSE (84)

WHAT IS OFFERED INTO THE MOUTH OF THE BRĀHMAṆA, WHICH IS NEITHER SPILT NOR SPOILT, NOR WASTED, IS FAR SUPERIOR TO THE FIRE-OFFERINGS.—(84)

Bhāṣya.

That the act just mentioned *must* be performed is asserted again in another form. What is offered into the Fire is sometimes '*spilt*'—it flows out, when it is poured out ; sometimes it becomes spoilt—as in the case of the cake—by becoming over-burnt. Similarly it becomes '*wasted*'—in the eyes of all cultured men—by reason of defects in the ritualistic detail. None of these defects is possible in the case of what is given to Brāhmaṇas.

• It is in view of this that the text asserts that this is '*superior to the Fire-offerings*'—i.e. to the offerings poured into fire. Or, the term '*Agnihotra*' may be taken in its literal sense of the name of the Rite; and in that case we have to supply the term '*et cetera*.'

'*Offered into the mouth.*'—The hand of the Brāhmaṇa is his 'mouth'; according to the declaration—'The Brāhmaṇa has been described as having his hands for his mouth.'

'*Superior*'—more excellent.

This is purely commendatory ; and should not be taken as actually detracting from the value of the Fire-offerings.—(84)

VERSE (85)

THE GIFT TO A NON-BRĀHMAṆA IS EQUABLE ; THAT TO A NOMINAL BRĀHMAṆA IS TWOFOLD ; THAT TO THE TEACHER, A HUNDRED-THOUSAND-FOLD AND THAT TO A PERSON THOROUGHLY LEARNED IN THE VEDA, ENDLESS.—(85)

Bhāṣya.

Objection:—"As a matter of fact, it has been laid down in the present context that gifts should be made to *Brāhmaṇas* (82) ; and before this also (under 3.96) it has been declared that gifts should be made 'to a *Brāhmaṇa* who knows the real meaning of the Veda.' Then again, it cannot be reasonable to accept the words of the text in the literal sense—that the various kinds of gifts actually bring about the rewards in the manner stated. For instance, of what sort is the *equableness* (between the *gift* and the reward accruing thence, to the giver) ? Is it in (a) kind, or (b) quantity, or (c) utility ? If it be held to be in *kind*, then, in a case where, on the occasion of drinking a medicinal drug, the patient makes a gift of those drugs (?) to temple-worshippers, the gift would be conducive to pain. Because medicinal drugs as a rule are bitter, hot and pungent and tend to move the bowels. If, again the 'equableness' meant were in regard to *quantity*,—and there also the equality were only in *quantity*, irrespective of the character of the *substance*,—then a gift of *gold* might bring, as its reward, an equal quantity of *copper*, or some such things as a clod of earth or a piece of wood and the like. If again, the 'equableness' meant were both in regard to *kind* and *quantity*, then also there would be the same difficulties as those just pointed out. If lastly, the 'equableness' meant were in regard to *utility*,—then also, if the use also were of the same kind, in that case, the use of the medicinal drugs consisting in the curing a certain disease,—if the reward were to be of the same kind, then it would be as good as nonexistent, if the man did not happen to suffer from the same disease ; so that the gift of those drugs would have to make the giver subject to that disease again, or some other disease of the same degree of seriousness. For these reasons, the declarations contained in the present verse should not be regarded as distinct sentences standing by themselves. Just as in the case of the Vedic declarations—'The *Nivṛta* form is for human beings and the *Upavṛta* for divine beings ; so that when the man adopts the *Upavṛta* form, he takes upon himself a mark of the gods',—what

is said in regard to the *Nivīta* and the rest is not taken as distinct from what is said regarding the adopting of the *Upavīta* form."

The answer to the above is as follows :—In the present text we do not find any verb in any of the sentences, every one of which, therefore, stands on the same footing. If it is a commendatory description, then this can apply only to the statement 'that to the man learned in the Veda, endless.' If again, it is an Injunction, then all the sentences should be regarded as equally injunctive ; there is nothing to indicate that any one of them is subservient to any other. In the case of the passage regarding the '*Nivīta*' &c; on the other hand, we find a verb in the term '*upavyayate*' ('adopts the *upavīta* form') ; so that the sentence containing it fulfilling the conditions of an Injunctive sentence, it is only right that the others should be taken as subservient to it.

As for the argument that no gifts to a Non-Brāhmaṇa can be possible,—this must be due to the objector having forgotten that gifts to the poor and helpless of all castes have been enjoined. In fact it is only in regard to gifts to be made by Kings to *Brāhmaṇas* that we have the sentences in the present verse.

As regards the argument that "there is no possibility of rewards accruing in the manner stated in the text, on account of all the various methods indicated being open to objection,"—our answer is as follows :—The mode of expression adopted here is that of ordinary parlance. In ordinary parlance, what is not *very good* is called 'equable'; *e. g.* in such expressions as 'the Saktu contains an equable supply of salt.' As for the reward being '*two-fold*', the two-foldness meant is in regard to *utility* ; the meaning being that the reward is doubly as useful as the original gift. It is not meant either that the same *kind* of substance is obtained in return, or that the *utility* is of the same kind ; all that is meant is that the degree of *happiness* produced is twice as much. Further, as a matter of fact, the verse is not meant to be an 'injunction of rewards'; so that there is no room for the raising of any such questions as to whether it is the *same substance*, or another substance, that is obtained in reward. Specially as in cases where no rewards are mentioned, the attainment of Heaven is

always regarded as the reward.* Then again, in connection with the giving of sesamum, the obtaining of children has been declared to be the reward; and certainly in such a case there can be no possibility of the reward being of the same *kind* as the gift. Thus all that is meant here, and also in the subsequent passages, is that the excellence of the recipient adds to the excellence of the gift. This is exactly what is emphasised in the next verse.

In the term '*brāhmaṇa—bruva*' ('nominal Brāhmaṇa')—the particle '*bruva*' has a derogatory sense; it stands for one who is Brāhmaṇa by caste only, and is wholly devoid of learning and other qualities.

'*Teacher*'—the Initiator.

'*A person thoroughly learned in the Veda*,'—one who has, by learning and study, got to the end of the Veda.—(85)

VERSE (86)

FOR ONE OBTAINS, AFTER DEATH, THE REWARD, SMALL OR GREAT, OF HIS GIFTS,—ACCORDING TO THE PECULIAR CHARACTER OF THE RECIPIENT, AND ALSO ACCORDING TO HIS OWN FAITH.—(86)

Bhāṣya.

The term '*pātra*' etymologically signifies either (a) 'one who saves from sinful deeds', or (b) 'one who saves and protects himself';—i.e. the *recipient*; or the *recipient* is called '*pātra*' in the same sense in which the vessel containing clarified butter is called its '*pātra*'; the substance given away is deposited in the *recipient* in the same manner in which the butter is deposited in the vessel. This is what has been declared above (82)—"For kings this is interminable, and has been called *Brahmic treasure*."

The '*peculiar character*' of the recipient consists in his possessing or not possessing, proper qualifications. It is by reason of these qualifications that rewards of gifts are obtained.

'*Or small*.'—When the gift is made to one who is possessed of excellent qualifications, in the shape of character and Vedic

learning, it brings a 'great' reward, and when made to one who has no qualifications, it brings a 'small' reward.

'According to his own faith.' To this effect we have the following text :—

THAT SUBSTANCE IS CONDUCTIVE TO MERIT WHICH IS GIVEN TO A
• PROPER RECIPIENT, IN GOOD FAITH AND IN DUE ACCORDANCE
WITH TIME AND PLACE AND FORM.

Here 'place' stands for the 'right place', which is that which is other than the village inhabited by the giver himself ; people away from their homes are likely to be subject to many inconveniences and wants, which may be removed by the gift;—'Time';—when some one who is performing a sacrifice happens to run short of necessary supplies; or when an eclipse takes place; 'Form'—the pouring of water, the pronouncing of the syllable 'Svasti' by the recipient, the proper preparation of the substance given away, the sweetness of disposition with which the gift is made; and so forth ;

'Substance'—cow, land, gold and so forth.

• 'Faith'—a keen desire for fulfilment, the determination as to 'how this may be accomplished.'

'After death.'—This only indicates that the reward does not always follow immediately after the act of giving ; it does not mean that it accrues always during the next life ; specially as all that is meant in the case of all acts enjoined in the Veda is that they must bring their reward (and nothing is indicated regarding the time at which the reward is to accrue).—(86)

SECTION (8)
Duties in Battle.

VERSE (87)

WHILE PROTECTING HIS PEOPLE, IF THE KING IS CHALLENGED BY ENEMIES, EITHER EQUAL IN STRENGTH, OR STRONGER, OR WEAKER, HE SHALL NOT SHRINK FROM BATTLE, BEARING IN MIND THE DUTY OF THE KṢATTRIYA.—(87)

Bhāṣya.

War has been enjoined as the last resource for the king, when all other means have failed; and when once war has been entered into and the king has reached the battle-field, and has been challenged by his enemy,—he shall not show any sort of indifference; this is what is meant by the present verse; which means that he shall not entertain any such notion as—‘I shall not strike at a weak enemy.’

Or, when robbers and others, in sheer disregard for the established law, attack the people,—or join the king’s enemies,—if such persons cannot be subdued without war,—then the king must go to war with them, even though they be weak. Though in a case like this, the king is not actually ‘challenged’ by the robbers in so many wards, yet, for all practical purposes, he is as good as ‘challenged’.

It is ‘*the duty of the Kṣattriya*’ that whenever he is challenged, he must fight, whoever the challenger may be, and he shall take no account of the caste or age or training or ambition etc. of the other party. This duty the King has to bear in mind.—(87)

VERSE (88)

NOT SHRINKING FROM BATTLE, PROTECTING THE PEOPLE, AND ATTENDING ON BRAHMAṆAS,—IS THE BEST MEANS OF SECURING HAPPINESS FOR KINGS.—(88)

Bhāṣya

This verse is meant to show that the three duties here mentioned bring equal rewards.—(88)

VERSE (89)

KINGS, SEEKING TO SLAY EACH OTHER IN BATTLE AND FIGHTING WITH GREAT ENERGY, WITHOUT TURNING BACK, PROCEED TO HEAVEN.—(89)

Bhāṣya.

'*Āhava*' is that where heroes are *challenged* by one another to fight, i. e. the battle; vying with one another and '*seeking to slay each other*';—'*fighting*'—striking—'*with great energy*'—to the utmost of their power. It is on account of metrical exigencies that in place of '*parayā*' (as qualifying '*śaktyā*') we have the form '*param*'.

'*Without turning back*';—this is to be construed with '*fighting*';—*proceed to heaven.*'

• *Objection*—"As a matter of fact, the action taken by kings is instigated by a love for territorial expansion; so that an ordinary physical reward being possible, why should Heaven be mentioned as the reward?"

Heaven is mentioned as the reward in connection with the observance of the rules of war going to be described; for the observance of these rules there can be no other motive. Even the king who has renounced his kingdom may observe the rules laid down in the next and following verses, and by surrendering to the powerful enemy he would become entitled to the transcendental reward (Heaven; there being no possibility of his winning any territories). Or again, when a king, on suffering defeat in battle, enters the fray (in sheer desperation), this act can only lead to Heaven. And on the strength of the present verse, such desperate fighting could not fall within the purview of the prohibition of self-immolation.

'*Kings*'—Rulers of provinces; not those under them; as the action of these latter is prompted by the interest of their masters

and not by any interest of their own; under the circumstances, how could there be any rewards for them? In fact, their case is analogous to that of the Priests whose services have been secured by means of a stipulation regarding fees; so that in the case of the king's underlings also, in as much as their service has been secured by means of wages, how could there be any reward in the shape of Heaven or the like?

"But under 5-97, it has been declared without any reservation that the sacrifice is immediately accomplished for the *Kṣātriya* who is killed by means of uplifted weapons, in due accordance with the duties of the *Kṣātriya*; and again—'those two persons pierce through the solar orb—the Renunciate in meditation and the hero killed in the forefront of battle';—further, in the *Mahābhārata*, it has been declared that Heaven is attained even by those who witness the battle. There are Vedic texts indicative of the same fact; e. g. 'Those brave men who fight in battles and give up their bodies there, as also those who pay a thousand as the sacrificial fee, go to the Gods,'—which shows that great rewards accrue to those sacrificers who pay a thousand as sacrificial fees,—'as also those brave persons who give up their lives in battle'. Further, the text speaks of 'those who fight,' and not 'those who have sold themselves for dying (for others);' specially as there is no such stipulation made at the time that the man's services are engaged. In the case of the officiating priests, the *Hotṛ*, the *Udgātṛ* and the rest, their appointment is for the express purpose of performing those priestly duties that are indicated by their titles. From all this it follows that even in the case of a man dying in serving his master, there is transcendental reward. Nor is there any such hard and fast rule as that there can be no reward in the case of an act prompted by the purposes of another man. In fact the slayer of a *Brāhmaṇa* becomes purified by bathing at the Final Bath of the *Ashvamedha* sacrifice, where he is not the performer of the sacrifice."

The answer to the above is as follows:—As a matter of fact, the giving up of his life by the king for the benefit of his

people is actually conducive to merit. As regards what has been said regarding the losing of one's life in battle being tantamount to the accomplishment of a sacrifice,—this must refer to the man whose services have been engaged on a salary and who, not being his own master, enters the battle simply on the word of command to 'march forward'. This is the person meant by the expression 'who is killed in the fore-front of battle.'

Or, the 'piercing of the solar orb' by the man fighting in battle would mean only *being saved from Hell*. In a case where a king's realm is attacked and pillaged by another king, and his people are being massacred, if the former undertakes to fight against him and loses his life in the fray, this would be conducive to merit. If he does not fight, he falls into 'blind darkness', which means *Hell*, on account of the total absence of light there. What the 'piercing of the solar orb' means is that the man reaches the regions beyond the solar regions; *i. e.* he does not fall downwards. When a man has accepted service on pay, under a master, if he fails to fight for his master in battle, and abandons him, his fall into hell is certain. On the other hand, if the man has fought his master's battle and has become free from the debt of the wages he has received from him,—if he is not bowed down by his sins,—it is only natural that he should attain heaven, by virtue of his own meritorious acts. It is in view of this that it has been declared that 'his sacrifice becomes immediately accomplished'. Thus also the passage in the Mahābhārata becomes reconciled, where it is said that persons who have accepted service in the army attain heaven. As for the mention of Heaven being attained by persons 'witnessing the battle', this must be regarded as a commendatory exaggeration.

Or, the meaning of all this may be that, there being many means of livelihood, living by military service is sure to lead to heaven.

As regards the argument that it is not for dying that the men are engaged in military service,—in reality when soldiers are paid their wages, it is for no other purpose than for fighting;

specially as no other purpose has been mentioned. The men are engaged by the master with the view that 'they shall be ready for all kinds of work and shall help me in all my undertakings.' So that when a war breaks out, it becomes their duty to do everything for their master, even up to the giving up of the body; and thus alone is he able to repay his master. When, however, there is no war, if the servant happens to die, then he dies a servant (and not one freed from bondage); as the repayment of his debt is accomplished only if he accomplishes some purpose of his master, similar to that for which he has been engaged. As for the texts quoted as indicating the attainment of heaven by men dying in battle,—these also become reconciled in the above manner.

What has been said regarding the murderer becoming freed from sins by bathing at the Final Bath of the *Ashvamēdha* is accepted on the strength of the direct assertion to that effect, contained in such texts as—'Hence on their association etc. etc.'; while in the present instance the reward is stated to be the result of fighting;—and this constitutes a difference between the two cases (which, thus, cannot be regarded as analogous).—(89)

VERSE (90)

WHILE FIGHTING HIS ENEMIES IN BATTLE, HE SHALL NOT STRIKE
WITH CONCEALED WEAPONS; NOR WITH ARROWS THAT ARE
POISONED, OR BARBED, OR WITH FLAMING SHAFTS. (90)

Bhāṣya.

The author proceeds to indicate such rules as appertain to superphysical results.

'*Concealed*'—those that have a wooden exterior, but sharpened weapons within.

'*Barbed*'—those arrows that are supplied, either at the base or in the middle of their shafts, with ear-shaped barbs,° which, once they enter the flesh, can be withdrawn with difficulty; and

even when withdrawn they lacerate even those parts of the body that may not have been wounded by weapons.

'Poisoned'—besmeared with poison.

Those whose shafts are *'flaming'*, i.e. consisting of fire. He shall not fight with such weapons.—(90)

VERSE (91).

HE SHALL NOT STRIKE ONE WHO IS STANDING ON THE GROUND, NOR ONE WHO IS A EUNUCH, NOR THE SUPPLICANT WITH JOINED PALMS, NOR ONE WITH LOOSENED HAIR, NOR ONE WHO IS SEATED, NOR ONE WHO SAYS 'I AM YOURS';—(91)

Bhāṣya.

The man on the chariot should strike only him who also is on a chariot ; so that one standing on the ground shall not be struck.

'Eunuch'—who is devoid of masculinity ; or who is without manliness.

'He who is seated'—unconcerned, elsewhere ; or on his chariot, or on the ground.

He shall not strike also one who says 'I am yours'. No stress is meant to be laid upon the exact words to be used. What is meant is that he shall not strike the poor supplicant who addresses to him such words as 'I am yours', 'I seek your shelter', and so forth ;—(91)

VERSE (92)

NOR ONE WHO IS SLEEPING, NOR HIM WHO IS WITHOUT HIS ARMOUR, NOR ONE WHO IS NAKED, NOR ONE DEPRIVED OF HIS WEAPONS, NOR ONE WHO IS ONLY LOOKING ON AND NOT FIGHTING, NOR ONE WHO IS ENGAGED IN FIGHTING WITH ANOTHER PERSON ;—(92)

Bhāṣya.

'Naked'.—*'Bhagnam'*, 'broken', 'defeated', is another reading. Fighting with one without his arrows having been forbidden,

there is no possibility of any one engaging a 'naked' person. Hence 'nakedness' should be taken as referring to that *partial nakedness* which consists in *being deprived of the turban or some such part of his armour*. As regards the 'broken' or 'defeated' man also,—since fighting with 'one who has turned to flight' is also forbidden (in 93),—it means that when the enemy who, though still facing his victorious foe, says 'I shall not fight with you any longer', he shall not be pressed to continue the fight.

'Nor one who is only looking on and not fighting';—the mere on-looker should not be struck; this prohibition however does not apply to the man who looks on, as well as fights.

'One engaged in fighting with another person';—a man who is fighting one person should not be struck by another.—(92)

VERSE (93)

NOR ONE WHO HAS FALLEN IN DIFFICULTIES REGARDING WEAPONS ;
NOR ONE IN DISTRESS, NOR ONE SEVERELY WOUNDED, NOR ONE
WHO IS FRIGHTENED, NOR ONE WHO HAS TURNED BACK ;—THE KING
REMEMBERING THE DUTIES OF HONOURABLE MEN.—(93)

Bhāṣya.

'Difficulties regarding weapons'—such as the breaking of weapons, the sword becoming crooked, the snapping of the bow-string and so forth.

'In distress'—on having lost his son or brother or some other relative.

'Frightened'—showing such signs of fear as the paleness of face and the like, even though still facing his foe.

'Turned back'—standing with his face turned away.

These are positive rules to be observed. If they are to be regarded as prohibitions, the non-observance of them would be sinful; [which would mean that their observance would simply save the man from that sin, and in that case] the declaration regarding the attaining of Heaven would be purely commendatory.

What then is the right view to take regarding these rules ?

They are prohibitions set up for the man's benefit, standing on the same footing as the prohibition of eating the flesh of the animal killed by a poisoned arrow. It is only when we take the rules thus that the negative word retains its primary meaning.

• 'Remembering the duties of honourable men'—the sense of 'anu' is that such is the usage of all cultured men.—(93)

•
VERSE (94) •

BUT THE KṢĀTTRIYA WHO, FRIGHTENED AND TURNED BACK, IS SLAIN BY THE ENEMIES, TAKES UPON HIMSELF ALL THE SIN THAT THERE MAY BE OF HIS MASTER.—(94)

•
Bhāṣya.

It should not be thought that 'if the man is killed after having turned back, he does not die after having committed a sinful deed'; because the offence lies in his having *turned back*. Further, the man should not entertain the notion that 'by becoming wounded I have repaid my debt to the master and have fulfilled my duty towards him'; because such wounds serve no useful purpose at all. This is what is indicated by pointing out the gravity of the offence involved. What is said in the present verse regarding the master's sins falling upon the servant, as also what follows in the next verse regarding the master taking off the merit of the servant,—all this is purely commendatory; for the acts of one man, either good or bad, cannot accrue to another; nor can there be a total annihilation of a meritorious act. All that is possible is that, when there is an obstruction caused by a grievous sin, the fruition of the meritorious act is delayed. This is all that is meant in the present context.—(94)

•
VERSE (95)

AND WHATEVER MERIT THE MAN SLAIN AFTER HAVING TURNED BACK MAY HAVE EARNED FOR THE NEXT WORLD,—ALL THAT HIS MASTER TAKES OFF.—(95)

Bhāṣya.

Whatever merit the man may have, all that his master takes off.

'Earned for the next world.'—This shows that there is some purpose served. The term *'amutrārtham'* is formed with the *'ach'* affix, according to the rule governing the *'arshas'* group'. The meaning is—'what has been earned for some purpose to be fulfilled in the next world, becomes lost (nullified) for him'.

Or, the compound may be expounded as a *Bahuvrīhi*—'that whose purpose or use pertains to the next world'. This explanation would be justified by the sense and also by its usefulness.—(95)

VERSE (96).

CHARIOTS AND HORSES, ELEPHANTS, UMBRELLAS, WEALTH, GRAINS, ANIMALS, WOMEN, ALL GOODS AND BASER METALS BELONG TO HIM WHO WINS THEM.—(96)

Bhāṣya.

'Baser metals'—utensils of copper etc. as also beds and chairs etc.

'Belong to him who wins them.'—The king being the master of all, he might take away all the spoils of war; hence the text mentions a few exceptions.

Gold, silver, lands, buildings and so forth accrue to the King; hence the necessity of enumerating those that do not go to him.

Arms and conveyances also accrue to the King.

'Grains' and other things being mentioned separately, the term *'wealth'* stands for cows, buffaloes etc.

It is in view of all this that there is the popular saying—'Half belongs to the King'.—(96)

VERSE (97)

'THEY SHALL PRESENT TO THE KING THE CHOICE PORTION',—SUCH IS THE VEDIC DECLARATION. WHAT HAS NOT BEEN WON

INDIVIDUALLY SHALL BE DISTRIBUTED BY THE KING AMONG ALL THE SOLDIERS.—(97)

Bhāṣya.

A particular detail is laid down in connection with the rule that 'what has been won by one man shall be taken by him.'

The soldiers shall, of their own accord, '*present to the king the choice portion*'; i. e. they shall select their best object and present it to the king; and they shall not take all the booty themselves.

'*Such is the Vedic Declaration.*'—The Vedic passage starting with the words '*Indro vai vṛttram hatvā*' (Indra having killed Vṛttra), goes on to say—he having become great said to the Gods '*present to me the choice portion.*' (*Aitareya Brahmana*, 3, 21).

In a case where the booty has been won by the King himself, or where it has not been won by any soldier individually, where no such distinction is possible as 'this village has been won by this man and that by that man', and where the enemy and his allies have been annihilated by all combined,—the division among his servants is to be made by the King, in accordance with the maxim of 'bestowing on worthy recipients.'—(97)

VERSE (98)

THUS HAS BEEN DECLARED THE BLAMELESS ETERNAL LAW OF WARRIORS;
THE KṢATTRIYA, STRIKING HIS ENEMIES IN BATTLE, SHALL NOT
DEVIATE FROM THIS LAW.—(98)

Bhāṣya

This sums up the section.

'*Warriors*'—soldiers; the '*law*' of these men;—'*blameless*'—never criticised or altered; hence '*eternal*';—the law made by man would be liable to be altered.

'*Shall not deviate*'—fall off;—he shall always follow. The '*Kṣattriya*' has been specially mentioned with a view to show that fighting is a duty that devolves primarily upon him; and not to any one who may happen to take his place.—(98)

SECTION (9)

Art of Government

VERSE (99)

HE SHALL STRIVE TO OBTAIN WHAT HAS NOT BEEN OBTAINED; WHAT HE HAS GAINED HE SHALL PRESERVE WITH CARE; HE SHALL AUGMENT WHAT HAS BEEN PRESERVED AND WHAT HAS BEEN AUGMENTED HE SHALL BESTOW UPON SUITABLE RECIPIENTS—(99)

Bhāṣya

The Kṣātriya shall not rest contented, in the manner of the *Brāhmaṇa*; he should on the contrary, make attempts to acquire what he does not possess. What he has acquired he shall 'preserve'; what has been preserved he shall 'augment'; i. e. lay by as treasure; then he should bestow gifts upon suitable recipients. He should not spend all that he gets; as it has been said that 'one's expenditure should be very much less than his income.'—(100)

VERSES (100—101)

HE SHALL RECOGNISE THE FOUR KINDS OF THE MEANS FOR ACCOMPLISHING THE PURPOSES OF MAN; AND HE SHALL ALWAYS DILIGENTLY AND PROPERLY CARRY THEM INTO EXECUTION; (100)
WHAT HAS NOT BEEN GAINED HE SHALL SEEK TO OBTAIN BY MEANS OF FORCE; WHAT HAS BEEN GAINED HE SHALL SAVE WITH CAREFUL ATTENTION; WHAT HAS BEEN SAVED HE SHALL AUGMENT BY ADDING TO IT; AND WHAT HAS BEEN AUGMENTED HE SHALL BESTOW ON SUITABLE RECIPIENTS.—(101)

Bhāṣya

The means of accomplishing the purposes of man are of four kinds. That is, the following four steps should be taken towards that end;—viz: acquiring, saving, augmenting and giving.

The term 'artha', 'purpose', stands for what is helpful; the meaning therefore is that what is mentioned here is the means for accomplishing what is helpful for man; these four shall be always put into practice : (100-101)

VERSE (102)

HE SHALL HAVE HIS FORCE ALWAYS OPERATIVE; HIS MANLINESS ALWAYS DISPLAYED, HIS SECRETS CONSTANTLY CONCEALED, EVER FOLLOWING UP THE WEAK POINTS OF HIS ENEMY.—(102)

Bhāṣya

He who has his force operative, is called '*Udyatadaṇḍaḥ*'; i. e. having his force in operation. For instance, the elephants and other constituents of the army he shall train by constant exercise; i. e. they shall all be disciplined by being regularly driven and trained; the exercise shall be regular; their clothing and accoutrements shall be kept in train. This is what is meant by the force being 'operative'; if this is done, it shows to the people in his kingdom that he is equipped with prowess and energy.

Similarly he shall have '*his manliness displayed*'; he should show, render manifest, his powers; i. e. at boundary-posts, and forests he should keep watch-men, imbued with courage, fully armed and armoured.

'*His secrets ever concealed*';—he shall determine what should be concealed, and then keeping that to himself, he shall conceal it, with due care by guarding it against prying and thwarting by others.

He shall always follow up the weak points of his enemies; shall find out their intentions and try to thwart them.—(102)

VERSE (103)

OF HIM WHO HAS HIS FORCE CONSTANTLY OPERATIVE, THE WHOLE WORLD STANDS IN AWE. HE SHALL, THEREFORE, SUBDUE ALL MEN BY MEANS OF FORCE—(103)

Bhāṣya.

This verse describes the effect of what has been just laid down in the foregoing verse.

'*The whole world stands; 'in awe'*—is afraid; and his glory becomes proclaimed.

'*Therefore all men*'—his own subjects, as well as others—'*he shall subdue by means of force*'.

The enemies of the king, who acts thus bow down to him without any effort on his part.—(103)

VERSE (104)

HE SHALL ALWAYS BEHAVE WITHOUT GUILT, AND NEVER WITH GUILT;
WELL PROTECTED HIMSELF, HE SHALL FATHOM THE GUILTS
EMPLOYED BY HIS ENEMIES.—(104)

Bhāṣya.

'*Māyā*', '*guile*', is Treachery; with that he shall never behave; as by doing so, he would not be trustworthy. Nor shall he try to alienate the subjects of other kings, until their inclinations have been ascertained. But '*the guiles employed by his enemies he shall fathom*' and understand in their true character; and having found out the guiles, he should proceed to win over the enemy's men.

The *modus operandi* of this is fourfold—as through (a) the angry, (b) he covetous, (c) the frightened and (d) the ill-treated. (a) When a man has done some artistic work, or some one has done something beneficial to the king,—such persons are either (1) cheated, or (2) presented with reward, or (3) ill-treated, and at this other artists and helpers also become angry—at the thought that—'*this king does not appreciate our art or help*'. Such persons are fit for being approached for alienation. Similarly when a person, hitherto honoured and treated with affection, comes to fall off from honour and office, his friends

and relations banished, himself imprisoned along with his family, his entire property confiscated,—and another person with similar qualifications becomes honoured in his place,—then the former and others like him constitute the '*angry*'.

(b) When a wicked act has been done by some person, and he has been punished, other persons, who have committed the same offence are in constant dread of that same punishment; similarly persons in high office, who may have failed in their duty, and others in like position constitute the '*frightened*' set.

(c) The poverty-stricken, the miserly, the profligate, the man immersed in debt and so forth constitute the '*covetous*' set.

(d) When the self-respecting person, seeking honour at the hands of the King's enemy, is (on the contrary) struck by him, he, being of a fiery temper and brave, becomes highly incensed at such treatment;—such persons constitute the '*ill-treated*' set.

The King shall attempt the alienation of all such persons from the other King; and at the same time he shall take care regarding similar people on his own side.—(104)

VERSE (105)

HIS ENEMY SHOULD NOT KNOW HIS WEAK POINTS, BUT HE MUST KNOW THE WEAK POINTS OF THE ENEMY; HE SHOULD HIDE THE DEPARTMENTS (OF GOVERNMENT) AS THE TORTOISE DOES ITS LIMBS; AND HE SHOULD GUARD HIS OWN WEAK POINTS.—(105)

Bhāṣya.

The same idea is further reiterated.

The king shall so act that while he becomes apprised of the enemy's weak points, his own remain carefully guarded. When he finds out, through his trusted spies, that any of his own people belongs to one of the aforesaid four sets of the '*angered*' and the rest, he should try to conciliate them.

His departments he shall hide, like the tortoise, and he shall also guard his weak points. The guarding of one's own weak

points against the enemy's approaches is highly important;—this is what is meant by the present verse.—(105)

VERSE (106)

HE SHALL PONDER OVER HIS PLANS LIKE THE HERON, AND LIKE THE LION HE SHALL EXERT HIS POWER; HE SHALL SNATCH LIKE THE WOLF, AND LIKE THE HARE HE SHALL DOUBT IN RETREAT.—(106)

Bhāṣya.

When large bodies of fish are hidden within their fortress in the water, the heron, with a view to catch them, adopts the plan of appearing indifferent, as if rapt in contemplation, and thereby succeeds in getting at them; in the same manner, even things difficult of attainment are attained by much care and attention being devoted to them. With this idea in his mind, the King should not give up hopes regarding the things sought to be attained.

Then again, the hare, being small of body, is capable of doubling back in retreat even from among a host of pursuers; similarly even though alone and helpless, having all his feudatory chiefs risen against him and being incapable of making a stand against them, the King should allow his enemies to enter the fortress, and then double back in retreat, with a view to seeking refuge under a powerful ally.

Further, the wolf, with a view to seizing its prey, finding the keepers of the sheep careless, snatches it away; in the same manner the King shall not give up the idea of pouncing upon his enemy, under the impression that the latter is watchful of his own safety; because the time may come when he may be able, like the wolf, to get at him.

Lastly, the lion kills even such large-bodied animals as the elephant and the rest, by virtue of its valour and strength; similarly the King should not be frightened by the enemy simply because the latter has a large army; because even a weak person, if imbued

with courage, sometimes succeeds in killing a powerful person.—(106)

VERSE (107)

WHILE HE IS THUS ENGAGED IN CONQUEST, IF THERE SHOULD BE ANY OPPONENTS FOR HIM, ALL THESE HE SHALL BRING UNDER SUBJUGATION BY MEANS OF CONCILIATION AND OTHER EXPEDIENTS.—(107)

Bhāṣya.

Those persons only who come forward to oppose him should be brought under subjugation, and not those who behave favourably towards him. But even the former shall first be tried to be won over by means of conciliation, and not all at once by force.—(107)

VERSE (108)

IF HOWEVER THEY SHOULD NOT BE STOPPED BY MEANS OF THE FIRST THREE EXPEDIENTS, THEN HE SHALL GRADUALLY BRING THEM UNDER SUBJECTION BY FORCE.—(108)

Bhāṣya.

Those who are beyond the reach of conciliation and the other expedients should be brought under subjection by means of force; and this shall be done, not suddenly, but gradually; force being employed by degrees, and not all on a sudden.—(108)

VERSE (109)

FOR THE PROSPERITY OF KINGDOMS THE WISE ONES ALWAYS RECOMMEND CONCILIATION AND FORCE FROM AMONG THE FOUR EXPEDIENTS, CONCILIATION AND THE REST.—(109)

Bhāṣya.

From among the four expedients, Conciliation and the rest, Conciliation and Force are described as superior. While there is

Conciliation, there is no disturbance; and when Force is employed, everything becomes accomplished.—(109)

VERSE (110)

JUST AS THE WEEDER PLUCKS OUT THE WEED AND PRESERVES THE CORN, SO SHALL THE KING PRESERVE HIS KINGDOM AND DESTROY HIS OPPONENTS.—(110)

Bhāṣya.

When certain persons plot against the King, the friends and relations of such persons, as also those that seek to enter into relationship with them, should not all be ruined,—if they are not in the secret of their machinations; those alone shall be proceeded against who are actually wicked, and not his relations; this is what is shown by means of the instance of the 'weeder.'

Though the corn and the weed grow together and are in close touch with one another, yet the weeder cleverly preserves the corn and plucks out the weeds; in the same manner from among the plotters and their friends, those alone should be punished who have actually committed the offence, and not those who are only related to them. Thus with due discrimination between the good and the wicked, the former shall be preserved and the latter punished.—(110)

VERSE (111)

THE KING, WHO, THROUGH FOLLY, THOUGHTLESSLY OPPRESSES HIS KINGDOM, BECOMES, 'ALONG WITH HIS RELATIONS', DEPRIVED, WITHOUT DELAY, OF HIS KINGDOM AND LIFE.—(111)

If a King, not making the aforesaid discrimination, happens, '*through folly*', and '*thoughtlessly*', to '*oppress his kingdom*'—by employing force,—'*he becomes deprived of his kingdom*'—by the ill-feeling of his subjects,—'*and also of his life*'; i.e. he is slain

even by single men, who happen to be possessed of daring and unmindful of their own life.--(111)

VERSE (112)

AS THE LIVES OF LIVING BEINGS PERISH BY THE EMASCIATION OF THEIR BODIES, SO DO THE LIVES OF KINGS PERISH BY OPPRESSING THEIR KINGDOM—(112)

Bhāṣya.

In his own kingdom the King should very carefully cultivate the good feelings of his people; since the kingdom occupies the position of body in relation to the King; when the body becomes emasculated by such causes as the eating of indigestible and unwholesome food and the like, the life goes out of it; similar results follow from the oppression of the Kingdom.

SECTION (9)
Internal Administration.

VERSE (113)

IN THE ADMINISTRATION OF HIS KINGDOM HE SHALL ADOPT THE PROCEDURE DESCRIBED BELOW; FOR THE KING, WHOSE KINGDOM IS PROPERLY ADMINISTERED, PROSPERS EASILY.—(113)

Bhāṣya.

'Administration'—method of governing.

'He whose Kingdom is properly administered'--i. e. rightly brought under sway and looked after,—*'prosper easily'*;--(113)

VERSE (114)

IN THE MIDST OF TWO, THREE, FIVE OR HUNDRED VILLAGES HE SHALL APPOINT AN ADMINISTRATOR OF STATE SUPPLIED WITH A PICKET OF GUARDS.—(114)

Bhāṣya.

In the midst of two villages he shall establish a *'picket of guards'*,—i. e. a police-outpost;—and he shall appoint an *'administrator'* supplied with such guards. The term *'saṅgraha'* stands for the administrating officer.

Similarly in the midst of three or five villages.

Or *'Saṅgraha'* may be taken as standing for the place for collecting of monies due to the king.—(114)

VERSE (115)

HE SHALL APPOINT THE LORD OF ONE VILLAGE, AS ALSO THE LORD OF TEN VILLAGES, THE LORD OF TWENTY, THE LORD OF HUNDRED AND THE LORD OF THOUSAND VILLAGES.—(115)

Bhāṣya

To each village he shall appoint one lord;—above him, the 'lord of ten villages' ; and so on.—(115)

• VERSE (116-117)

TROUBLES ARISING IN THE VILLAGE, THE VILLAGE-LORD SHALL HIMSELF GENTLY REPORT TO THE LORD OF TEN VILLAGES; AND THE LORD OF TEN VILLAGES TO THE LORD OF TWENTY;—(116)—THE LORD OF TWENTY SHALL COMMUNICATE IT ALL TO THE LORD OF HUNDRED; AND THE LORD OF HUNDRED HIMSELF SHALL REPORT IT TO THE LORD OF THOUSAND.—(117)

Bhāṣya.

Those village-troubles that the Village-lord cannot settle himself,—he shall report to the Lord of Ten villages; and when this latter is unable to cope with them, they shall, in due course, be reported to the Lord of Thousand villages.—(116-117)

• VERSE (118)

THE VILLAGE-LORD SHALL GET DAILY THOSE THINGS THAT OUGHT TO BE FURNISHED TO THE KING BY THE VILLAGERS, IN THE SHAPE OF FOOD, DRINK, FUEL AND THE REST.—(118)

Bhāṣya. •

This lays down the means of subsistence for the Village-lord. 'Village-lord'—the officer in charge of one village,—*'shall get'*—obtain—'those things' for his subsistence, which *'ought to be furnished to the King by the villagers.'*

'Food etc'—*i. e.* the sixth or eighth part of the corn produced;—as is going to be prescribed under 10. 120 *etc.* —(118)

• VERSE (119)

THE LORD OF TEN VILLAGES SHALL ENJOY ONE KULA AND THE LORD OF TWENTY VILLAGES TWENTY KULAS; THE LORD OF

HUNDRED VILLAGES ONE 'WHOLE VILLAGE AND THE LORD OF
THOUSAND VILLAGES ONE TOWN.—(119)

Bhāṣya.

'*Dashi*' is the person in charge of Ten villages; so '*Vimshi*' also. The forms of the words are Vedic.

'*Kula*'—part of a village; known in some places as '*hatta*' and in others as '*uṣṭa*'.

Five times this land appertains to the Lord of Ten villages; and an entire village to the Lord of Hundred villages; and the '*Town*'—city, to the Lord of a Thousand villages. The system is that the living should be determined in accordance with the position and duties of the officers.—(119)

VERSE (120)

THE AFFAIRS OF THESE OFFICERS PERTAINING TO THE VILLAGES, AS
ALSO THEIR INDIVIDUAL AFFAIRS ANOTHER MINISTER OF THE KING
SHALL INSPECT, WHO IS LOYAL AND NEVER IDLE.—(120)

Bhāṣya.

There may be differences of opinion among these officers regarding the affairs of the villages.

'*Another*'—some one other than those under whose sphere of duties those affairs fall;—'*minister*'—of superior status;—'*loyal*'—free from undue love and hate,—should be appointed for inspecting those affairs.—(120)

VERSE (121)

IN EACH TOWN HE SHALL APPOINT ONE SUPERINTENDENT OF ALL
WORKS, OF HIGH STATUS AND AWE-INSPIRING APPEARANCE;—HE
BEING LIKE A PLANET AMONG STARS.—(121)

'*Of high status*'—i. e. at the head of others.

'*Of awe-inspiring appearance*'—of commanding presence.

'Like a planet among stars'—i. e. like the planet Mars.

He shall also be equipped with an army consisting of elephants, horses and the rest.—(121)

VERSE (122)

THIS OFFICER SHALL ALWAYS PERSONALLY SUPERVISE IN TURN ALL THOSE OFFICERS, AND THOROUGHLY ACQUAINT HIMSELF, THROUGH THE KING'S SPIES, WITH THEIR BEHAVIOUR IN THEIR RESPECTIVE JURISDICTIONS. —(122)

Bhāṣya

The officer delegated to the town shall 'supervise' those lords of villages, and in case of need, shall help them with his forces.

He shall also *'thoroughly acquaint himself with'*—find out all about—the behaviour of those officers;—through whom?—*'through the King's spies'*, disguised as a pilgrim etc.—(122)

VERSE (123)

AS THE KING'S SERVANTS, APPOINTED TO PROTECT THE PEOPLE, GENERALLY BECOME KNAVES, BENT UPON SEIZING THE PROPERTY OF OTHERS,—HE SHALL PROTECT HIS PEOPLE AGAINST THEM—(123)

Bhāṣya.

'Bent upon seizing the property of others'—those who are in the habit of taking what belongs to others.

'Knave'—addicted to wicked deeds.

Persons appointed are likely to become such; even though before appointment they may be quite honest and hence inclined to protect the wealth of other persons. Hence the King should not leave them alone, relying upon their former character; he should be ever watchful of their conduct.

'He shall protect the people against them'—By ignoring them, it is not only the King's own interest that suffers; the people also become reduced to poverty.—(123)

VERSE (124)

THOSE EVIL-MINDED PERSONS WHO WOULD TAKE MONEY FROM MEN ENGAGED IN BUSINESS—OF THESE THE KING SHALL CONFISCATE THE WHOLE PROPERTY AND ORDAIN BANISHMENT.—(124)

Bhāṣya.

Those officers appointed for protecting the people who—*'from men engaged in business'*—those who do business and are in trade—*'take money'*—i.e. impose fines on the people, in connection with ploughing &c.,—these men shall be banished and their property confiscated by the king.—(124)

VERSE (125)

FOR WOMEN EMPLOYED IN THE KING'S SERVICE AND ALSO FOR MENIAL SERVANTS, HE SHALL FIX DAILY WAGES, IN PROPORTION TO THEIR POSITION AND WORK.—(125)

Bhāṣya.

'Employed'—appointed;—*'women'*—slave-girls and others working in the inner apartments;—*'of menial servants'*—such as bearers of palanquins and the like;—*'he shall fix daily wages'*,—and not fix an annual maintenance, in the form of villages, in whole or in part.

'In proportion to their position and work'. *'Position'* stands for the principal duty, responsibility,—such as keeping guard over the bed and so forth; and *'work'*—i.e. physical labour involved; the wages given should be in proportion to these. If the responsibility is great, even though the physical work involved be little, the wages should be high; and if the responsibility is not great, even though the physical labour involved be great, the wages shall be low. This is what is meant by the wages being *'in proportion to the position and work'*.—(125)

VERSE (126)

ONE PANA SHALL BE PAID AS THE WAGES OF THE INFERIOR, AND SIX TO THE SUPERIOR SERVANT; AS ALSO CLOTHING EVERY SIXTH MONTH AND A DROṆA OF GRAIN EVERY MONTH.—(126)

Bhāṣya.

To the 'inferior servant'—i.e. to one who is employed in such work as sweeping and cleaning; for his living one *pana* should be paid.

To the superior servant shall also be given 'clothing every sixth month'; and also 'a *Droṇa* of grain'; a '*droṇa*' is equal to four *Adhakas*.

The exact measure of the '*pana*' the author is going to describe later on (8.136).

These verses are meant to prescribe the wages of the servants.—(126)

————:o:————

SECTION (10)
Customs-Duties.

VERSE (127)

HE SHOULD MAKE THE TRADERS PAY DUTIES, AFTER DUE INVESTIGATION OF THE DETAILS OF BUYING AND SELLING, THE JOURNEY INVOLVED, FOODING ALONG WITH ITS ACCESSORIES, AND THE MEASURES OF SAFETY.—(127)

Bhāṣya.

Now follows the system of realising duties.

At what price the merchandise has been bought—what price it will fetch when sold—what time it will take in selling—what deterioration, if any, it is likely to suffer—the consideration of all this constitutes the '*investigation of the details of buying and selling*'.

'*Journey*'—whether it takes much or little time to obtain it.

'*Fooding*'—Flour, Rice &c.

'*Accessories*'—e.g. butter, pulse, vegetables; as also fuel and such things. .

'*Measures of safety*'—i e. when passing through forests whether or not things were secure against molestation by kings and robbers. .

Having duly investigated all these, the King shall realise duties from the traders.

The right reading is '*vaṇighhir dāpayēt karān*'; because according to the *sūtra* '*gatibuddhi &c.*' (Panini), there is nothing to justify the Accusative case in '*vaṇijaḥ*.' Or, the root in '*dāpayēt*' may mean 'fine', and hence like the root '*daṇḍi*'; it may take two objects (which would justify the said Accusative ending).—(127)

VERSE (128)

AS THE WATER-INSECT, THE CALF AND THE BEE EAT THEIR FOOD
LITTLE BY LITTLE, SO LITTLE BY LITTLE SHOULD THE KING
DRAW FROM HIS KINGDOM THE ANNUAL TAXES.—(128).

Bhāṣya.

This text is meant to assert that only a small tax shall be levied upon the person whose agricultural holding is not prosperous.

‘*Water-insect*’—leech.

‘*Śatpada*’—The black bee.

Just as these derive full nourishment by taking in only a little food, similarly the King should not uproot his people (by overtaxing them).—(128)

This same idea is further reiterated in the next verse.

VERSE (129)

AFTER DUE INVESTIGATION THE KING SHALL ALWAYS LEVY TAXES IN
HIS KINGDOM IN SUCH A WAY THAT HE HIMSELF AND THE MAN
WHO CARRIES ON THE BUSINESS SHALL BOTH RECEIVE THEIR
REWARD.—(129)

Bhāṣya.

‘*The person engaged in business*’—the trader—‘*and the king*’—may receive their reward;—in such way should the taxes be levied; and there is no ground for fixing the amount of the tax; in fact where the profit made has been large, the King should charge heavier taxes—even exceeding the proportion fixed.—(129)

VERSE (130)

IN THE CASE OF CATTLE AND GOLD THE FIFTIETH PART SHALL BE
TAKEN BY THE KING; AND IN THE CASE OF GRAINS, THE EIGHTH,
SIXTH OR TWELFTH PART.—(130)

Bhāṣya.

*'In the case of cattle and gold'—which are of high value—
'the fiftieth part shall be taken by the King'.*

'In the case of grains'—the exact share to be taken is to be determined in accordance with the greater or less labour involved in the producing of each kind.

'Pañchāśhak'—the fiftieth; the affix being 'tamaṭ'. If the reading be 'pañchāśhadbhāgaḥ,' it would be similar to such expressions as 'dvibhāga' ('two-parts') and the like; and in that case it would stand for a totally different number (meaning 'fifty parts').—(120)

VERSE (131—132).

HE SHALL TAKE THE SIXTH PART IN THE CASE OF TREES, MEAT, HONEY AND CLARIFIED BUTTER, OF PERFUMES, MEDICINAL HERBS AND POISONS, OF FLOWERS, ROOTS AND FRUITS ;—(131) OF LEAVES, VEGETABLES AND GRASSES, OF SKINS AND CANE, OF EARTHENWARE VESSELS, AND OF ALL THINGS MADE 'OF STONE.—(132)

Bhāṣya.

The term '*dru*' stands for trees. The rest is all clear.

Out of the profit on 'all these articles, the sixth part shall be taken by the King.—(131—132)

VERSE (133)

EVEN THOUGH DYING, THE KING SHALL NOT LEVY A TAX ON THE SHROTRIYA ; AND NO SHROTRIYA LIVING IN HIS KINGDOM SHALL SUFFER FROM HUNGER.—(133)

Bhāṣya.

The King shall so manage that no *Shrotriya* in his kingdom shall suffer from hunger.—(133)

VERSE (134)

THE KINGDOM OF THAT KING IN WHOSE REALM THE SHROTRIYA
SUFFERS FROM HUNGER, SHALL, ERE LONG, PINE WITH HUNGER.
—(134)

Bhāṣya.

This is the result of disobeying the injunction just
mentioned above.—(134)

VERSE (135)

HAVING ASCERTAINED HIS LEARNING AND CHARACTER, HE SHALL
PROVIDE FOR HIM A FAIR LIVING ; AND HE SHALL PROTECT HIM
AGAINST ALL THINGS, EVEN AS THE FATHER PROTECTS HIS
LAWFUL SON.—(135)

Bhāṣya.

‘*Fair living*’—so that his household duties do not suffer.

Having provided a living ‘*he shall protect him against all
things*’—from thieves and others, as also against his own
extravagance.—(135)

VERSE (136)

PROTECTED BY THE KING HE PERFORMS MERITORIOUS ACTS DAY AFTER
DAY ; AND BY THAT THE KING’S LIFE, WEALTH AND KINGDOM
BECOME AUGMENTED.—(136)

Bhāṣya.

The augmentation of ‘life, wealth and kingdom’ is the
reward of harbouring the meritorious *shrotriya*.—(136)

VERSE (137)

THE KING SHALL MAKE THE OTHER PEOPLE LIVING BY BUSINESS
PAY DURING THE YEAR SOMETHING UNDER THE NAME OF
“TAX”.—(137)

Bhāṣya.

'*Living by business*'—such as agriculture, money-lending, buying and selling and so forth.

'*Other people*'—than the Brāhmana-Shrōtriya.

'*Make them pay tax*'.—'*under the name of tax*'—i.e. which bears the name of 'tax'.—(137)

VERSE (138)

MECHANICS AND ARTISANS, AS ALSO SHUDRAS WHO SUBSIST BY BODILY LABOUR,—THE KING SHALL MAKE EACH OF THESE WORK FOR ONE DAY EVERY MONTH.—(138)

Bhāṣya.

Those who live by any kind of art he shall make work for him one day each month;—as also those who '*subsist by bodily labour*'—i. e. these shudras who carry loads &c.—(138)

VERSE (139)

HE SHALL NOT CUT OFF HIS OWN ROOT, NOR THAT OF OTHERS, THROUGH EXCESSIVE GREED; BY CUTTING OFF HIS OWN ROOT HE CAUSES SUFFERING TO HIMSELF AS WELL AS TO OTHERS.—(139)

Bhāṣya.

The 'cutting off of his own root' consists in not realising taxes and duties; and excessive taxation constitutes the 'cutting off of the root of others'; and as a matter of course, the latter is due to excessive greed; and this is what is reiterated in the text.

The 'cutting off of his own root' causes suffering to the King himself, by the depletion of his treasury. From the same cause others also come to suffer. For if a war were to break out, and the King's finances happened to be low, his defeat and destruction would be certain; and this would constitute a great suffering for the people.

On the other hand, if the King were to realise taxes at all times of the year, this also makes the people wretched.—(139)

VERSE (140)

THE KING SHALL BE SEVERE AND MILD, AFTER HAVING DULY EXAMINED THE WORK (OF EACH MAN); IT IS ONLY THE SEVERE-MILD KING WHO IS HIGHLY RESPECTED.—(140)

Bhāṣya.

Severity and mildness shall be always practised. Such a King becomes '*highly respected*'—honoured—of his people.—(140)

VERSE (141)

WHEN TIRED WITH LOOKING AFTER THE AFFAIRS OF MEN, HE SHALL PLACE IN THAT PLACE HIS CHIEF MINISTER, WHO IS CONVERSANT WITH THE LAW, WISE, SELF-CONTROLLED, AND BORN OF A NOBLE FAMILY.—(141)

Bhāṣya.

When he is tired with looking after the affairs of his subjects, he shall depute to that work of 'looking after affairs' a minister who is endowed with the knowledge of law and other qualifications, and is fit for bearing all responsibilities.—(141)

VERSE (142)

HAVING THUS ARRANGED ALL HIS BUSINESS, HE SHALL PROTECT HIS PEOPLE, EVER INTENT AND WATCHFUL.—(142)

Bhāṣya.

'*Thus*'—refers to the *appointing of assistants* and all the rest that has been described above.

'*Arranged*'—accomplished.

'*Business*'—all that is useful is called '*business*'.

'Intent'—engrossed; hence 'watchful' or 'watchfulness' may stand for infallibility of intellect. 'In this way shall he protect his people.—(142)

VERSE (143)

HE, FROM WHOSE TERRITORIES PEOPLE ARE CARRIED OFF, SCREAMING, BY ROBBERS, WHILE HE HIMSELF, ALONG WITH HIS SERVANTS IS LOOKING ON, IS DEAD, NOT ALIVE.—(143)

Bhāṣya.

This text describes the evil arising from neglecting the watchfulness laid down in the preceding verse.

If the king is not awake to the necessity of establishing outposts, then his subjects are carried off by robbers, who are ever on the look out for such loopholes; and what can the King do for the subjects? Such a King would be as good as dead. His very living is death itself. For this reason the King should be ever watchful.

'Screaming'—crying—'are carried away';—'while, along with his servants the King is looking on.' The evil is bound, under the circumstances, to be simply looked upon helplessly; the King's servants can only look on, they cannot chase the robbers and free the people from their clutches; all these are as good as dead.

VERSE (144)

THE PROTECTION OF THE PEOPLE IS THE KṢĀTRIYA'S HIGHEST DUTY; THE KING, WHO ENJOYS THE FRUITS MENTIONED, BECOMES ENDOWED WITH MERIT.—(144)

Bhāṣya.

The King who enjoys the fruit as it comes to him, 'becomes endowed with merit'. Otherwise, if he did the protection of only those who helped him, he would incur sin.—(144)

SECTION (11)
Daily Routine of Work

VERSE (145)

HAVING RISEN DURING THE LAST WATCH OF THE NIGHT AND PERFORMED HIS ABLUTIONS, WITH COLLECTED MIND, HAVING POURED LIBATIONS INTO THE FIRE, AND HONOURED THE BRĀHMAṆAS, HE SHALL ENTER THE AUSPICIOUS HALL OF AUDIENCE.—(145)

Bhāṣya.

The 'last watch' stands for the '*Brāhma-muhūrta*', the 'time sacred to Brahman'; that it is so is indicated by the terms '*having performed his ablutions*', and '*with collected mind*'.

'*Having poured the libations into Fire*';—the performance of this act of Homa-offering is not to be done during the '*Brāhma-muhūrta*'; since at that time *four muhūrtas* (3 hours, 12 minutes) of the night would be still left, while the Homa-offering has been laid down as to be done when the night has dawned. So what all this means is simply—'having accomplished all that is to be done at dawn'.

'*Having honoured*' worshipped—'*the Brāhmaṇas*'—'*he shall enter the auspicious Hall of Audience*'—equipped with auspicious marks.—(145)

VERSE (146)

STAYING THERE, HE SHALL WELCOME ALL HIS SUBJECTS AND THEN SEND THEM AWAY. HAVING SENT OFF ALL THE PEOPLE, HE SHALL TAKE COUNSEL WITH HIS MINISTER.—(146)

Bhāṣya.

'*There*'—in that hall.—'*staying*',—'*he shall welcome*'—gratify with proper forms of address, looks, marks of respect and salutation—'*the subjects*'—who happen to come to see him,—'*and then send them away*',—permit them to go as they had come.

Then, after the people have been sent off, *'he shall take counsel with his ministers'*,—discussing what should be done in connection with matters relating to his own kingdom and that of other Kings. The five requisites of 'Counsel' are now described.

Those requisites of 'counsel' are as follows:—The means of undertaking a project, (2) the supply of men and material, (3) due apportionment of place and time, (4) remedy for miscarriage, and (5) success of the project.

What the verse means is that the King shall not trespass upon the time for listening to the prayers of the people. It is possible that the sitting of the council may be prolonged; and of this he shall not speak to the men; he shall keep his counsel secret.—(146)

VERSE (147)

HAVING ASCENDED THE TOP OF A HILL, OR A HOUSE, AND RETIRING INTO SOLITUDE,—OR IN A DESOLATE FOREST HE SHALL HOLD COUNSEL, UNOBSERVED.—(147)

Bhāṣya

This lays down the *place* where the council is to be held.

'Retiring into solitude'—seated in a place where there are no men.

'Unobserved';—he shall arrange it so that men may not be able to infer that such and such a thing is going on there.

'Desolate', *'nishshalākam'*,—*'shalākā'* is tall grass hence the epithet means a place where even grass does not grow, and hence there is no possibility of any person going there.—(147)

VERSE (148)

THAT KING, WHOSE SECRET PLANS OTHER PEOPLE, COMING TOGETHER, DO NOT KNOW, ENJOYS THE WHOLE EARTH, EVEN THOUGH HE BE POOR IN TREASURE.—(148)

Bhāṣya

This verse is meant to lay down that secret plans shall not be disclosed.

'Other men'—those who are not councillors, outside the pale of those who are in the King's secret.—(148)

VERSE (149)

AT THE TIME OF TAKING COUNSEL, HE SHALL SEND AWAY THE IDIOT, THE DUMB AND THE DEAF, ANIMALS, VERY AGED PERSONS, WOMEN, FOREIGNERS, THE SICK AND THE MAIMED.—(149)

Bhāṣya.

When he is holding counsel, the King shall remove every kind of living being from the place; he shall send them all away from there, for fear of his secrets leaking out.

Among *animals* also, parrots and such others often disclose secrets; cows and horses also, under the influence of some magical art, have been heard to have their shape transformed and thereby made carriers of good and bad news; and we hear of such Kingly arts as those of making animals to disappear and so forth.

The 'idiot' and the rest being already included under the 'maimed', the separate mention of all these is analogous to the expression '*go-balivarda*' (where even though the *balivarda*, ox, is included under the '*go*', yet it is mentioned separately'; and the 'maimed' have been mentioned separately with a view to preclude the notion being entertained that 'the maimed person, being without hands and feet, cannot go out, he must stay locked up on, so that how could he divulge our secret?'

Or, the verse may mean that the persons specified shall not be made councillors, on account of the possibility of their intellect being defective,—and hence they should not be confided in either; so that it becomes necessary that they shall be sent away.—(149)

VERSE (150)

PERSONS WHO HAVE BEEN DISGRACED, ANIMALS, AND PARTICULARLY WOMEN BETRAY SECRET PLANS; HENCE HE SHALL BE CAREFUL WITH REGARD TO THEM.—(150)

Bāṣhya.

'*Disgraced*,—fallen from honour. Such despicable persons, as also other paltry men, even when not disgraced, might hear something, and might be able to utter a few syllables; and this would lead to the disclosure of the secret; as, from the slightest hints, clever men are capable of drawing important inferences.—(150)

VERSE (151)

AT MID-DAY OR AT MID-NIGHT, FREE FROM FATIGUE AND DULNESS, HE SHALL DELIBERATE ON MATTERS RELATING TO MORALITY, PLEASURE AND WEALTH, EITHER WITH THEM, OR ALONE BY HIMSELF ;—(151)

Bhāṣya.

He shall ponder over conflicts among the demands of morality, pleasure and wealth. If any one of them were to supervene, success would follow if all the others also were to rise in proportion.—(151)

VERSE (152)

—ALSO ON THE ATTAINMENT OF THESE, MUTUALLY IRRECONCILABLE AS THEY ARE, ON THE GIVING AWAY OF DAUGHTERS AND ON THE GUARDIANSHIP OF SONS ;—(152)

Bhāṣya.

'*The attainment*',—bringing together—'*of these, mutually irreconcilable*'—i.e. of morality, pleasure and wealth,—or of the ministers ;—'*the giving away of daughters*' ;—all this should be deliberated upon, in connection with the success of his business; also the *guardianship of his sons*', the princes.

The princes should be made to accept morality and wealth, by the king saying such words as 'I am your own'. When they come by money for the first time, they spend it just as they happen to be advised, and they generally waste it; and evil-minded men take from them whatever they ask for ;—if they happen to associate with wicked men, they imbibe

their character ; and being thus poisoned with evil tendencies, they cannot be kept away from vices ; for, as has been said—'it is impossible for the colour of saffron to be put upon a cloth already tinged with blue'. For this reason the princes have to be constantly instructed. Among them again, those that are possessed of better qualities, should receive advancement ; the others receiving comparatively little for their share. The eldest of them, who is highly qualified and free from jealousies, should be installed as heir-apparent. In this manner the king shall always take care to guard the princes.—(152)

VERSE (153)

—ON THE SENDING OF AMBASSADORS, THE REMAINING DETAILS OF UNDERTAKINGS, ON THE AFFAIRS OF THE HAREM, AND ON THE WORK OF SPIES ;—(153)

Bhāṣya.

He shall deliberate upon the sending of ambassadors to the king with whom he intends to enter into alliance, or on whom he is going to declare war.

He shall also deliberate upon the '*remaining details*' of such undertakings as have been already taken in hand,—with a view to complete them.

Protected by a trusted body-guard, he shall enter the harem situated in another apartment of his palace ; and there he shall visit the senior and absolutely pure and trusted queen, and not one who is not pure and free from suspicions. For one Bhadrāsena, the king's brother, hidden in one of the rooms and under the bed of his mother, once killed the king ;—a queen struck the king of Avanti on his abdomen with her anklet besmeared with poison, through her association with another man ; another queen struck the King Viduratha of Sauvira with a weapon hidden in her hair. So all these secret places the king shall examine with care ; and he shall prohibit the association of the maids of his harem with strangers with shaved head or with matted locks, or with maid-servants from outside.

He shall deliberate also 'upon the work—the transactions—of his spies, who may have gone to work as beggars with bowls and under other disguises.—(153)

VERSE (154)

—ALSO UPON THE ENTIRE 'EIGHT-FOLD BUSINESS,' AND ON THE 'FIVE-FOLD GROUP' IN ITS REAL CHARACTER, ON AFFECTION AND DISAFFECTION, AND ON THE CONDUCT OF HIS 'CIRCLE'.—(154)

Bhāṣya.

{ '*Eight-fold business*'.—Either (A)—(1) undertaking of what has not been done, (2) the doing of what has not been done, (3) the refining of what has been done, (4) the acquiring of the fruits of the act, (5) conciliating, (6) alienating, (7) giving and (8) employing force;—or (B)—(1) Trade, (2) building of embankments and bridges, (3) fortification, (4) repairing of fortifications, (5) elephant-catching, (6) mine-digging, (7) colonising uninhabited places and (8) clearing of forests. Others quote the following two verses of Shukra, in explanation of what constitutes the 'eight-fold business'—“(1) Acquiring and (2) spending, (3) dismissing, and (4) forbidding, (5) propounding of the right course of conduct, (6) investigating cases, (7) inflicting punishments, and (8) imposing purificatory penances;—the king, ever intent upon these, is said to carry on his 'eight-fold business'; he who duly performs this eight-fold business is honoured by his enemies and goes to heaven. In this quotation—(1) 'acquiring' means the receiving of revenues; (2) 'expenditure' stands for gifts to servants; (3) 'dismissing' for getting rid of wicked servants; (4) 'forbidding' for the checking of the improper activities of his officers; (5) 'propounding of the right course of conduct' for the checking of improper conduct; (6) 'investigation of cases' for the settling of doubts arising in regard to the duties of the several castes and orders; (7) 'inflicting of punishment,' for what is done in the case of disputes among his subjects; and (8) 'purificatory penances' for those that have to be done in connection with

mistakes due to want of care. All this constitutes the 'eight-fold business'.

'*Five-fold group*'.—This stands for the five kinds of spies, disguised as—(1) a scholar, (2) a fallen ascetic, (3) a householder in distress, (4) a merchant in trouble, and (5) a hermit.

• The term 'scholar' here stands for forward students advertising themselves as knowing the highest law; the spy who goes about thus disguised should be honoured by the minister with presents and marks of honour, and addressed thus—'Putting your trust upon the king and on myself, you should report whatever wrong you happen to discover.'

(2) The '*fallen ascetic*' is one who has fallen off from the state of the true Renunciate; he is one who is endowed with intelligence and purity; and he should take up service as a body-servant in a place where there is plenty of gold and where there is every possibility of vast gifts of food-grains being made; he shall also carry the fruits of agriculture to all wandering mendicants, enough to supply them with food, clothing and home; among these those that might be seeking a livelihood, these he should alienate; and in this manner the work of his employer, the king, should be done. Such a spy shall present himself at the time of the distribution of fooding and wages; and all wandering mendicants would, in this fashion, become alienated from their duties.

(3) '*The householder in distress*',—is the agriculturist reduced to poverty, who is clever and pure. He should do the work of cultivation on a piece of land, such as described above.

(4) The '*merchant in trouble*' is the trader, clever and pure, but reduced to poverty; he should do the work of trading, in a place, such as described above.

• (5) The disguised '*ascetic*' is one who is either completely shaven or wears matted locks, and goes about seeking a living. He should take up lodgings close by the city, accompanied by a large number of clean-shaven disciples,

openly living upon a handful of herbs, or barley-corn, taken at the interval of thirty days, but secretly eating to his heart's content; his disciples, also disguised as ascetics, shall proclaim to the people that he is possessed of great occult powers, and thereby obtain presents of money; and under his influence the king's confidential ministers would disclose to him projected burnings, danger from thieves, the projected killing of wicked persons or news from foreign countries,—saying 'this will happen either to-day or tomorrow', 'the king is going to do this and that', and so forth.

Under the other king there would be certain persons studying the science of genealogy, the *Sanjavidyā* (?), the science of putting to sleep (*Jambhakavidyā* ?), the processes of magic, the duties of the several orders, the science of omens; and all such persons the king shall get over to his own kingdom through the above-mentioned five kinds of spies. Among the ministers, priests, army commanders, princes, wardens, inner guards and others belonging to the other king,—he shall, under the disguise of ordinary citizens, introduce his own trusted ministers, who are experts in tricks, disguises, arts and languages; similarly he shall also depute the humpbacked, the dwarf, the forester, the dumb, the idiot, the deaf, the blind, the actor, the dancer, the singer and others, as also women capable of entering the harem; along the forests foresters should be appointed, and in villages villagers, all ostensibly engaged in their own business and wholly immersed in these; and all these shall be in constant communication with persons of their own kind. Similarly with persons capable of moving in water, who should go about secretly, and hold secret commissions.

Having appointed this 'five-fold group', he shall, through these, learn all about 'affection and disaffection' among the people of the other king, as also among his own priests and ministers.

He shall also ponder over the 'conduct of his circle',—i. e. 'the tendency to peace and war of his provincial governors.—(154)

VERSE (155)

—ON THE CONDUCT OF THE 'INTERMEDIARY' ON THE DOINGS OF THE KING BENT UPON CONQUEST, ON THE ACTION OF THE NEUTRAL KING, AS ALSO THAT OF HIS ENEMY, WITH SPECIAL CARE.—(155)

Bhāṣya.

Of the said 'circle' the following are the four principal components—(1) the King bent upon conquest, (2) the Enemy, (3) the Intermediary and (4) the Neutral. Of these the King, who has people on his side and who has made up his mind to conquer a certain part of the world, is called 'bent upon conquest,' by reason of his being endowed with courage and strength.—The 'Enemy' is of three kinds—(a) born, (b) natural and (c) acquired.—The 'Intermediary' is the king whose territory is co-terminous with that of the king in question.—The 'Neutral' is one who is capable of defeating each of the two—'one who is bent upon conquest' and his 'enemy'—singly, but not conjointly; and also each of the three—'he who is bent upon conquest,' the 'enemy' and the 'intermediary'—singly, but not conjointly.—(155)

VERSE (156)

THESE FOUR COMPONENTS ARE, IN BRIEF, THE ROOT OF THE CIRCLE; EIGHT OTHERS ALSO HAVE BEEN DESCRIBED; THESE BEING THE TWELVE THAT HAVE BEEN SPOKEN OF.—(156)

Bhāṣya.

'That have been spoken of';—these have been described as the 'root' or basic components of the circle; and there are 'eight others' also,—i. e. each of these four have two belonging to each, in the shape of the 'ally' and the 'enemy'. The four original components, together with these eight, constitute the 'twelve'.—(156)

VERSE (157)

THERE ARE FIVE OTHERS, (1) THE MINISTER, (2) THE KINGDOM, (3) THE FORTRESS, (4) THE TREASURY AND (5) THE ARMY—DESCRIBED

IN CONNETION WITH EACH (OF THE ABOVE TWELVE); THESE THEN, BRIEFLY, BEING SEVENTY-TWO.—(157)

Bhāṣya.

The 'minister' and the rest are five other components of the circle, pertaining to each of the twelve aforesaid components. The total thus comes to be *six times twelve*, i.e. *seventy-two*.—(157)

„ VERSE (158)

HE SHALL REGARD, AS 'ENEMY', HIS IMMEDIATE NEIGHBOUR, AS ALSO THE PERSON WHO HELPS HIS ENEMY; THE IMMEDIATE NEIGHBOUR OF HIS ENEMY HE SHALL REGARD AS HIS 'FRIEND'; AND AS 'NEUTRAL' THE KING WHO IS BEYOND THOSE TWO. — (158)

Bhāṣya.

One who is the immediate neighbour of the king bent on conquest shall be regarded as his enemy; as also the enemy's ally. Similarly he shall regard as his friend the immediate neighbour of his enemy. The King who is beyond these two is '*neutral*.'

These same characteristics of the 'friend' and the 'enemy' are to be found in the 'born' and 'acquired' ones also.—(158)

VERSE (159)

ALL THESE HE SHALL WIN OVER BY MEANS OF CONCILIATION AND THE OTHER EXPEDIENTS, SEVERALLY AS WELL AS COLLECTIVELY, AS ALSO BY PROWESS AND POLICY.—(159)

Bhāṣya.

'*Win over*'—bring under his sway.

'*Prowess and "policy"* are the same as conciliation and war; and it has been declared that 'they recommend conciliation and war'.—(159)

VERSE (160)

ALLIANCE, WAR, MARCH, HALT, BIFURCATION AND SEEKING SHELTER —THESE SIX MEASURES OF POLICY HE SHALL CONSTANTLY PONDER OVER.—(160)

Bhāṣya

• Presents of gold and other things with a view to secure the good will of both parties constitute 'alliance'; and the opposite of this is 'War';—going forward with a single purpose is 'March';—ignoring of the enemy leads to 'Halt';—putting forward terms of peace as well as of war constitutes 'Bifurcation';—and the surrendering of oneself to another is 'Seeking Shelter'. These are the six 'measures of policy'; and from among these he shall have recourse to that one by means of which, he feels, he would be enabled to erect fortifications, capture elephants, dig mines, carry on trade, cut down forests, raise embankments round fields in tracts not irrigated by rain, to win the wealth of other people, and so forth.—(160)

• VERSE (161) •

HE SHALL HAVE RECOURSE TO HALTING, TO MARCHING, TO ALLIANCE, TO WAR, TO BIFURCATION OR TO SEEKING SHELTER, AFTER HAVING FULLY CONSIDERED HIS BUSINESS.—(161)

Bhāṣya.

Having entered into alliance with one party, he shall declare war upon another, even under false pretences. Similarly he shall resort to Halting after having entered into alliance and declared war. All this he shall do after having fully considered his business. There can be no fixed time for all this; he shall resort to a certain measure at the time at which he may think it to be most opportune. •

Objection—"If any rules regarding time cannot be indicated, why should there be any teaching regarding the subject at all?"

• *Answer*—Who says that the time *cannot* be indicated? What is meant is that any minute details regarding the time are hard to indicate; a general indication is easy enough; and even a general indication comes useful to those who are not learned.—(161)

VERSE (162-163)

BUT THE KING SHALL KNOW THAT ALLIANCE AND WAR ARE OF TWO KINDS ; SO ALSO BOTH MARCHING AND HALTING ; AND SEEKING SHELTER ALSO HAS BEEN DECLARED TO BE OF TWO KINDS.—(162)
 ALLIANCE, ENDOWED WITH FUTURE POSSIBILITIES, IS OF TWO KINDS
 —(1) THAT IN WHICH THE ACT OF MARCHING IS UNDERTAKEN
 IN COMMON AND (2) THAT IN WHICH IT IS OTHERWISE.—(163)

Bhāṣya.

(1) 'That in which the act of marching is undertaken in common',—in which the agreement entered into is in the following form:—'Let us march at the goal conjointly, having equal shares in it, and I shall not be passed over by you ; whatever we gain shall belong to both of us';—(2) Or that 'You march one way, I go the other'; where the action is not joint, it is 'otherwise'—(162-163)

VERSE (164)

WAR HAS BEEN DECLARED TO BE OF TWO KINDS:—(1) THAT WHICH IS WAGED, IN SEASON OR OUT OF SEASON, BY ONESELF, FOR HIS OWN PURPOSE, AND (2) THAT WHICH IS WAGED ON SOME WRONG DONE TO AN ALLY.—(164)

Bhāṣya.

The 'season' for the king himself declaring war is that time when he is full of confidence in his own strength and is imbued with courage for reducing his enemy, when his subjects are united and prosperous, fully endowed with the rewards of agriculture and other kinds of business, and ready to deprive the enemy of all this business,—and when the enemy's subjects are in reduced circumstances and covetous, and as such easily capable of being alienated from him and won over to the other side,—this is the 'season' for war to be

waged by the king himself. And it is 'out of season' when conditions are the reverse of this.

Further, war is also waged, by reason of some wrong inflicted on one's ally. If the enemy has done some injury to his ally, then, taking this into consideration, the king shall wage war, even though it be out of season. Though he himself may be an ally of the injured king only in the sense that he is the neighbour of the king who has inflicted the wrong (and from whom he himself might expect an attack), yet, with the help of the ally (whose injury he is going to avenge) he would be able to check that enemy. It is true that the enemy's neighbour is his ally; but the enemy's enemy has his realm further removed.

Another reading is '*mitrēṇa chaivāpakṛtē*'; which means that if the king happens to be attacked by his ally, he may wage this war even out of season.

The two kinds of war thus are—(1) that waged for one's own sake, and (2) that waged for the sake of the ally; or one kind of war is that which is prompted by one's own prosperity, and another kind is that which is waged when one has been wronged by his ally and is on that account, in trouble.—(164)

VERSE (165)

MARCHING IS SAID TO BE OF TWO KINDS—(1) THAT UNDERTAKEN BY THE KING BY HIMSELF ALONE, ON THE SUDDEN APPROACH OF AN EMERGENT OCCASION, AND (2) THAT UNDERTAKEN BY HIM ACCOMPANIED BY HIS ALLY.—(165)

Bhāṣya.

The two-foldness of Marching is based upon its being undertaken by the king alone by himself or accompanied by his ally. The king can march alone by himself only when he has the requisite strength; otherwise he can march only when accompanied by his ally.

‘*Emergent occasion*’;—e.g. when some trouble befalls the enemy, he becomes the fittest object of attack at that same moment; otherwise, if time is allowed to lapse, he would recover his strength and thus become difficult to destroy.—(165)

VERSE (166)

HALTING HAS BEEN DECLARED TO BE OF TWO KINDS:—(1) THAT WHICH IS NECESSARY FOR ONE WHO HAS BECOME GRADUALLY WEAKENED, EITHER BY CHANCE OR THROUGH PREVIOUS ACTS, AND (2) THAT WHICH IS NECESSITATED BY CONSIDERATIONS FOR HIS ALLY.—(166)

Bhāṣya.

‘Halting’ means the *withdrawing of oneself*. This also is of two kinds—(1) When the king is “*weakened*”—in force and in money,—even though he be prosperous, he has to ignore his enemy; and another kind of Halting is that which is done in consideration of the ally. If the relations of his ally, who is weak, with the enemy is not such as to make it safe for his ally to rise against that enemy,—then, in consideration of the delicate position of his ally, the king should ‘*halt*’.

The said ‘*weakness*’ arises from two causes:—it may be due to ‘*chance*’ or to ‘*former acts*’. This only describes the actual state of things. The strength and weakness of all kings are due to these two causes. ‘*Chance*’ here stands for the man’s want of care, e.g. extravagance, inalertness regarding the army and so forth; and ‘*former acts*’ means the demerit caused by evil deeds in the past. Or the explanation of the two terms may be reversed (‘*former acts*’ standing for *carelessness*, and ‘*chance*’ for *past misdeeds*).

‘*Mohāt*’ (‘through folly’) is another reading (for ‘*daivāt*’, ‘by chance’); but what is meant is expressed by the term ‘*daiva*’,—(166)

VERSE (167)

WHEN, FOR THE ACCOMPLISHMENT OF SOME PURPOSE, THE MASTER TAKES UP ONE POSITION AND THE FORCE ANOTHER,—THIS IS WHAT IS DESCRIBED AS 'BIFURCATION' BY THOSE CONVERSANT WITH THE DETAILS OF THE SIX MEASURES OF POLICY.—(167)

Bhāṣya

When different positions are taken up by the Master and his Army,—the Master, with a small force, remains in the fort, while the Commander, with a larger force proceeds elsewhere. Or, some sort of 'bifurcation' is resorted to by way of favouring the different divisions, in the way of allowing all the divisions opportunities for securing booties of gold and other things.

Objection.—"The measure here described is *Bifurcation*; and of this there can be only one form—different positions being taken up by the Master and his Forces. There is no reason why any other kind of division should be mentioned; the only bifurcation that need be mentioned is that consisting in different positions being taken up by the Master and his Forces."

The answer to this is that it is by implication that we get at the other two kinds of 'bifurcation'—(1) one being that which is done for one's own sake and (2) that done for the sake of others.—(167)

VERSE (168)

'SEEKING SHELTER', WITH NOBLE PEOPLE, HAS BEEN DECLARED TO BE OF TWO KINDS:—(1) THAT WHICH IS DONE FOR THE SAKE OF ACCOMPLISHING A USEFUL PURPOSE, WHEN HARASSED BY ENEMIES, AND (2) THAT IN THE FORM OF A STATUS.—(168)

Bhāṣya.

When a king is harassed by his enemies, he seeks shelter, for the purpose of accomplishing some useful purpose.

The 'purpose' to be served is the ceasing of the harassment; and for the attaining of this purpose one should seek shelter with a powerful supporter; e. g. giving up his own territory he should go over to the realms of that supporter.

'Status'.—Even though not actually harassed, he shall seek shelter with another king for the purpose of acquiring a status; that would save him from future harassment. The advantage that is secured is that he acquires a status in the eyes of men who realise that 'he has got such and such a king for his protector, and hence cannot be harassed by others'. The 'seeking shelter' for the purpose of acquiring status has been called 'stātus', by regarding the two as co-ordinate.

'Vyapadēshārtham' is another reading, ('for the purpose of acquiring status').

In answer to the question—With whom should he seek shelter?—the text has added—'*with noble people*'. Shelter should be sought with one of those kings that are noble, at whose hands no ill-treatment could be feared. The term 'noble' connotes such qualities as *capacity to protect others from harassment*, and so forth.—(168)

VERSE (169)

WHEN HE KNOWS THAT HIS SUPERIORITY IS CERTAIN IN THE FUTURE, AND AT THE TIME THERE IS BUT LITTLE HARM DONE —THEN HE SHOULD RESORT TO PEACE.—(169)

Bhāṣya.

'Future' is time to come.

When he knows that 'this king is equal to me in strength—or I may be weaker now, but in time, by creating disunion among his people, or by entering into powerful alliances, I shall be able to defeat him',—then he should make peace.

'Superiority' means *possession of superior force*.

'Certain'—sure.

'At the time'—this phrase denotes the *present time*.—(169)

VERSE (170)

BUT WHEN HE THINKS ALL HIS PEOPLE TO BE HIGHLY CONTENTED,
AND HIMSELF TO BE EXCEEDINGLY PROSPEROUS,—THEN HE
SHALL MAKE WAR.—(170)

Bhāṣya.

'*Contented*'—full of ambition and affection for the king, highly satisfied with gifts and honours;—when he finds his own '*people*'—ministers and others—to be so;—and '*himself to be exceedingly prosperous*'—rich in treasure, in elephants and horses, and other things;—then, at such a time, he shall break the treaty under some pretext and have recourse to war.—(170)

• VERSE (171)

WHEN HE THINKS • THAT HIS OWN ARMY IS HAPPY AND STRONG IN
CONDITION, AND THAT OF THE ENEMY IS THE REVERSE, THEN
SHALL HE MARCH AGAINST THE ENEMY—(171)

Bhāṣya.

'*Condition*'—is the cause of happiness and strength; *e.g.* having received much wealth, the harvest having been good, and so forth are the causes that are conducive to happiness and strength.

'*Army*'—consisting of elephants, horses and foot-soldiers.

'*And that of the enemy is the reverse*',—'*then shall he march against the enemy*'—*i. e.* attack him. The causes that prompt actual marching against the enemy are not the same that lead the king to make war; in fact, these latter, as also the loss of happiness and strength of the enemy's people; are the causes that should prompt actual marching.—(171)

VERSE (172)

BUT WHEN HE HAPPENS TO BE WEAK IN CONVEYANCES AND SOLDIERS,
THEN HE SHALL SIT QUIET, GRADUALLY CONCILIATING HIS ENEMIES
WITH SPECIAL CARE.—(172)

Bhāṣya.

'Conveyances'—elephants and horses;—'Soldiers'—foot-soldiers. The distinction between the two being analogous to the 'go' and the 'balivārda.'

When his soldiers are weak, he shall sit quiet, conciliating his enemies. 'Conciliating' consists in making them pleased with peaceful overtures and gifts.—(172)

VERSE (173)

WHEN THE KING THINKS HIS ENEMY TO BE STRONGER IN EVERY RESPECT, THEN HE SHOULD BIFURCATE HIS FORCE AND THUS ACCOMPLISH HIS OWN PURPOSE.—(173)

Bhāṣya.

When a man has been attacked by a strong enemy, recouping is impossible ; what is beneficial is resorting to a fortress ; and this means garrisoning, which involves 'bifurcation'; this has been already explained above. As a matter of fact, it is found that, under ordinary circumstances, it is only the more powerful king who divides his forces, when under difficulties.—(173)

VERSE (174)

WHEN HE HAPPENS TO BE VERY MUCH OPEN TO ATTACK BY THE ENEMY'S FORCES, THEN HE SHALL SEEK SHELTER WITH A RIGHT-EOUS AND POWERFUL KING.—(174)

Bhāṣya.

'Very much open to attack';—when he finds that while in the fortress, he is very liable to be assailed,—then quickly he shall give up the fortress and take refuge with another 'righteous king,' at whose hands he does not fear ill-treatment, who is famed for his calm and dispassionate nature,

What is meant by the epithet '*powerful*' is shown in the next verse.—(174)

VERSE (175)

THAT KING WHO DOES THE CHASTISEMENT OF HIS PEOPLE AS ALSO OF HIS ENEMY'S ARMY,—HIM HE SHALL EVER SERVE WITH EVERY EFFORT, LIKE A PRECEPTOR.—(175)

Bhāṣya.

It has been said that the other king should be '*powerful*'; the question arising as to what amount of strength would mark him out as '*powerful*',—the present verse supplies the answer.

With that king alone he shall seek shelter who is capable of chastising the enemy's forces, as also the disloyal subjects of the king seeking his shelter.

And such a king shall be served like a preceptor; and in so doing the king shall not consider his dignity at all; he should have no such notion as 'he also is a great king, so I shall treat him as my equal'; in fact he shall be attended upon, like a master.

'*With every effort*'—by all such means as saying agreeable things, attending on him, and so forth.—(175)

VERSE (176)

IF EVEN THERE HE SHOULD PERCEIVE SOMETHING WRONG ON THE PART OF HIS SHELTERER, THEN, EVEN IN THAT CONDITION HE SHALL, WITHOUT HESITATION, RESORT TO WAR.—(176)

Bhāṣya.

If even in that seeking of refuge he should '*perceive*'—feel—'*something wrong on the part of his shelterer*'; &c. &c. The signs indicating such '*wrong*' are the following:—

'Repentance after having given the shelter, *Kṛtapurvāhamam* (?), showing disrespect, describing misdeeds, inattention, disagreeable speech,—these are the acts of the unfavourable man,

Thus when the shelterer is found to be unfavourably inclined,—although the shelterer be, in reality, free from anything actually wrong,—this is what is implied by the term ‘*api*’, ‘*even*’,—at such a time he shall, without any hesitation, have recourse to war. Nor is it necessary that the man should suffer destruction after having been reduced to a condition necessitating his taking shelter; because even a stronger man is sometimes found to be defeated by the weaker. In any case, the final result is bound to be favourable: if he wins, he regains his kingdom, if he is defeated, he is sure to attain heaven. We are going to show later on the excellence of war.

From among the six ‘measures of policy’ the king may resort to one or the other, and regulate his marches according to his capacity.—(176)

VERSE (177)

BY MEANS OF ALL THE EXPEDIENTS, THE POLITIC KING SHALL ACT IN SUCH A MANNER THAT HIS ALLIES, NEUTRALS AND ENEMIES DO NOT BECOME SUPERIOR TO HIMSELF.—(177)

Bhāṣya.

The mention of ‘expedients’ in general implies that use may be made of these either severally or collectively; and the epithet ‘all’ indicates that he may resort to whatever expedient he can; even such, for instance, as the formation of cliques and the like.

‘*Act in such a manner*’—try to manage his affairs in such a way.

‘*Politic*’—well versed in the science of government, naturally possessed of keen intelligence, as also conversant with the art of politics.

‘*Superior*’—in the three elements of strength;—so that his allies and others may not be so, he shall act in all things,—in the undertakings of his people—in such a way as to make himself greater than all of them.

In view of metrical exigencies the author has omitted to mention the 'intermediary'. But he also is to be watched, and not ignored, because friendly. There is no such thing as a 'friend', without some motive of his own; in fact when a friend becomes great, he also, for some purpose of his own, becomes an enemy; as says Vyasa—'No one is anybody's friend, nor is any body any body's enemy; friends and enemies are to be regarded as such only in accordance with the powers that they possess.'

By means of these expedients, the king shall deliberate upon his whole circle.—(177)

VERSE (178)

HE SHALL FULLY THINK OVER THE FUTURE AND THE PRESENT CONDITION OF ALL UNDERTAKINGS, AS ALSO THE GOOD AND BAD POINTS OF ALL PAST ONES.—(178)

Bhāṣya.

'Undertakings'—Business affairs. When any work is going to be undertaken, he shall consider its 'future'—i. e. its developments to come,—and also its 'present condition',—i. e. its condition at the beginning,—'fully'—in all its real details. As a matter of fact, undertakings have several offshoots, and undergo transformation in a moment; so that if both ends (future and present) of an undertaking are not clearly grasped, it is difficult to ascertain in what manner it shall be proceeded with; hence the necessity of consideration, which the present text enjoins.

'Also the good and bad points of all past ones'—shall then be pondered over. Here also having thought over the good and bad points of past actions, one has to make up his mind to undertake first those which are found to have only good points; and herein lies the use of thinking over the good and bad points of past acts,—which are enjoined in the present text.—(178)

VERSE (179)

HE, WHO IS ALIVE TO THE GOOD AND BAD POINTS IN REGARD TO THE FUTURE, IS QUICK IN HIS DECISIONS RELATING TO THE PRESENT, AND UNDERSTANDS THE CONSEQUENCES OF HIS ACTS IN THE PAST, IS NEVER OVERPOWERED BY HIS ENEMIES.—(179)

Bhāṣya.

Thus if a king knows the good and bad points of an act, likely to appear in the future, he would act with deliberation; and would undertake only such acts as are likely to develop good points, and avoid those likely to lead to evil. It is for this reason that the knowledge of the likely developments of an undertaking is necessary.

'Relating to the present';—he who takes quick decisions, and does not delay their execution, is said to be *'quick in his decisions'*; such a person is quick to act, and does what leads to good, and not what leads to evil:

'In the past';—when an act has been done, if the man judges the act by its end only, he becomes great by reason of his undertaking only such acts as lead to good;—and he is *'never overpowered by his enemies'*.

As a matter of fact, it is not possible for the Six Measures of Policy to be dealt with in detail in a work dealing with *Dharma*; hence the subject has been treated of only briefly.—(179)

VERSE (180)

HE SHALL ARRANGE EVERYTHING IN SUCH A MANNER THAT HIS ALLIES OR NEUTRALS OR ENEMIES MAY NOT GET THE BETTER OF HIM; THIS IS THE SUM-TOTAL OF STATE-POLICY.—(180)

Bhāṣya.

He should act in such a manner that others may not get the better of him by means of the several expedients. This is the sum-total of state-policy. This is a summing up.

In the manner shown above there is no inconsistency in the employment of the 'Six Measures'. It has to be borne in mind that if a king succeeds (1) in keeping his plans secret, (2) in adopting remedial measures at the advent of troubles, (3) in keeping his own circle contented, and (4) in duly employing the measures and expedients,—then he attains success in his affairs.—(181)

SECTION (12).

War.

VERSE (181)

WHEN THE KING UNDERTAKES AN EXPEDITION AGAINST THE ENEMY'S KINGDOM, HE SHALL ADVANCE SLOWLY TOWARDS THE ENEMY'S CAPITAL, IN THE FOLLOWING MANNER.—(181)

Bhāṣya.

The text now describes what is to be done by one who is going to undertake an expedition.

When he wishes to undertake an expedition against the enemy's kingdom, then he should advance, in the following manner against his capital, without hurry.

This verse serves as an introduction to what is going to be described, and serves the purpose of making it more easily intelligible.—(181)

VERSE (182)

THE KING SHALL START ON HIS EXPEDITION IN THE AUSPICIOUS MONTH OF MĀRGASHĪRṢA, OR TOWARDS THE MONTHS OF PHALGUṆA AND CHAITRA, ACCORDING TO THE CONDITION OF HIS FORCES.—(182)

Bhāṣya.

When he is going to undertake an expedition involving a campaign that might be a long one, in consideration of his own forces and also in that of the king against whom he is marching,—he shall march against the hostile kingdom in the month of *Mārgashīrṣa*, when his forces are fully equipped and when his stores are fully replenished with the autumn-harvest. Starting about this time, he can easily carry with him the autumn-fruits garnered in the house and is cheered by the prospects of the spring-harvest. The time is quite fit for

the work of laying siege to fortresses and so forth; and the path also is not beset with deviations and diversions due to the overgrowth of grasses or the over-flowing of rivers; and the season is neither too hot nor too cold. At any other time of the year food-grains, even though sufficient, cannot be of sufficiently diverse quality, the season of the three harvests being far off; so that the enemy would be likely to take shelter under a powerful king, which would lead to the unnecessary expenditure of the stock of food-grains of both parties, and the attacking king's own forces also would become weakened.

If however the king is desirous only of inflicting some injury on the enemy's territory, or when the expedition is expected to take a short time, and his force is sufficiently strong, then he may start also during the months of *Phālguna* and *Chaitra*, specially against a country which is rich in spring-harvests. At this time of the year also, he can obtain fodder and at the same time inflict an injury upon the other party, by destroying the crops standing in the fields.

• 'According to the condition of his forces';—he should regulate his marches according to the strength of his army.—(182)

The following is an exception to the rule laid down above—

VERSE (183)

AT OTHER TIMES ALSO, IF HE PERCEIVES CERTAIN VICTORY, THEN HE SHALL PICK UP A QUARREL AND MARCH FORWARD; ALSO WHEN SOME TROUBLE HAS ARISEN FOR THE ENEMY.—(183)

Bhāṣya.

Even apart from the seasons mentioned in the preceding verse, 'at other times'—during the rains and other seasons also,—if he thinks that his victory is 'certain'—sure to come—then 'he shall march forward';—if he has a strong force, during the rains,—has his elephants and horses in full strength, then, by virtue of the strength of his forces, his victory is certain.

'*Trouble*' for the enemy, in connection with his army and treasury &c.; when such trouble has arisen, then he may march against him, even irrespectively of the condition of his own forces; since the army, suffering from its own internal troubles, becomes easily reducible; in fact he perishes, even like a log of wood which perishes by the mere touch of (?).

'*He shall pick up a quarrel*';—he must march forward; after having attacked and challenged the enemy he shall advance, when he knows the other party is in great trouble.—(183)

VERSES (184—185)

HAVING DULY MADE ARRANGEMENTS AT THE BASE, AS ALSO THOSE PERTAINING TO THE EXPEDITION, HAVING SECURED A BASIS, AND HAVING DULY DEPUTED HIS SPIES,—HAVING CLEARED THE THREE KINDS OF ROADS, AND HAVING EQUIPPED HIS OWN SIX-FOLD FORCE,—HE SHALL ADVANCE AGAINST THE ENEMY'S CAPITAL IN THE MANNER PRESCRIBED FOR WARFARE.—(184—185)

Bhāṣya.

'*At the base*'—in his own kingdom and in his own fort—he shall establish a rear-guard by way of '*arrangement*' i.e. as a precautionary measure; that is, he shall supply the fort with a large supply of food-grains &c. and with fitted up machines and defences and ditches &c. The kingdom also he shall leave protected by companies of soldiers. Having made the Commander thoroughly contented by means of honours and presents, he shall appoint him in charge of outposts in his rear along the boundaries of his territory; and a fully-equipped army shall be left under him, within his own territories. c

'*Those pertaining to the expedition*'—i.e. the preparations for the expedition, consisting in providing weapons of offence and defence for the elephant—corps, the cavalry and other branches of the army.

'*Duly*'—i.e. according to the instructions contained in works dealing with the art of war.

'*Basis*'—foot-hold ; from where the temper of the people other than his enemies might be duly watched ;—having '*secured*'—made his own—such a ground.

For the purpose of learning the condition of things in the enemy's kingdom, having '*deputed*'—appointed—spies ; for the purpose of finding out whether the enemy has begun to get together his forces, or to rouse his opponent's circle to rebellion, or to take shelter with a neutral or indifferent king ; and he should also seek to ascertain whether the enemy is going to check his very first advance directly, or to cut off his communications, and all other allied matters.—(184)

'*Three kinds of roads*'—i.e. those passing (1) through the open country, (2) through marshy ground, and (3) through forests. Some people read '*vana*' in place of '*āṭavika*', and thus make up the 'three'. Others again describe the '*three kinds of roads*' as (1) high, (2) low and (3) level.

'*Having cleared*' ;—cutting off the trees, thickets and creepers obstructing the path, and levelling the undulations of the ground, preparing fords in rivers and ravines, destroying the wild animals besetting the path, winning over the path-finders to his side, and getting together supplies of food and fodder &c.

'*Six-fold force*'—according to some the six factors are—(1) Elephants, (2) horses, (3) chariots and (4) footsoldiers—these four constituting the 'army'—and (5) Treasury and (6) Mechanics. Others read 'fixing of rates' in place of 'treasury'. According to others again, the six factors are—(1) the hereditary soldiers of the king, (2) mercenaries, (3) groups, (4) friendly (5) unfriendly and (6) foresters.

'*In the manner prescribed for warfare*' ;—'*Sāmparāyikam*' means pertaining to '*samparaya*' or war ;—i.e. that which has been laid down for the purpose of war ; in that manner,—i.e. in the manner prescribed for advancing against a fort,—he shall advance against the enemy.

The disposition of the army shall be in accordance with the nature of the ground ; palisades being set up with dry or living

pillars, with several openings, and made of sticks, planks and branches of trees and so forth. Special care has to be taken regarding this during the time that the army is on the march.—(185)

VERSE (186)

HE SHALL BE VERY MUCH ON HIS GUARD AGAINST AN ALLY WHO MAY BE SECRETLY SERVING THE ENEMY, AS ALSO AGAINST ONE WHO HAS GONE AWAY AND RETURNED ; AS HE IS THE MORE DANGEROUS ENEMY.—(186)

Bhāṣya.

'Who is serving his enemy secretly,'—hidden';—against such an 'ally'; as also against 'one who has gone away and returned'—'he shall be very much on guard'; he shall be careful, watchful, in regard to them ; i.e. he shall not trust them. Because such a person is 'the more dangerous enemy'—worse than one who is openly hostile to him.

The use of the epithets '*very much on guard*' and '*more dangerous*' implies that the person who has gone over to the other side and returned again should not be received back.

Such a person is of four kinds :—(1) He who has gone away for some reason, and comes back for some reason contrary to the reason for which he had gone, e.g. he went away on account of some defect in his chief, and comes back on having thought of his good qualities ; (2) he who has come back for some reason ; from among these the person who comes back for some reason shall be dismissed, as being fickle-minded and careless in his acts, and hence no confidence can be reposed in him ;—(3) he who has gone for some reason, and returns also for the same reason ; e.g. he goes on account of some bad quality of his chief, and returns also on account of some bad quality in his new chief ; such a person shall be received with honour, and if his return is found to be due to his attachment to the former chief, he shall be taken back ; (4) on the other hand, if he be found to have been deputed by the enemy of his chief with a view to cause some injury to his former chief, then he shall not be taken back.—(186)

When the king has started on his expedition against a hostile kingdom:—

VERSE (187)

HE SHALL MARCH ON THIS ROAD ARRAYING HIS ARMY IN THE FORM OF A STAFF, OR IN THAT OF A CART, OR A BOAR, OR AN ALLIGATOR, OR A NEEDLE OR THE GARUDA-BIRD.—(187).

Bhāṣya. :

When the army is arranged in the shape of a staff, it is said to be '*arrayed in the form of a staff*'; similarly when in the shape of the cart, it is '*arrayed in the form of a cart*'; and so on with the rest.

(A) In the fore-front, there is the Commander of the entire force,—then the king in the centre,—then the army-commander,—on his two flanks, the elephants,—close to them the horses,—then the footsoldiers; the whole of this array being, like the staff and operating in a straight line.

(B) Operating on both sides is the '*needle-array*', in which the soldiers operate in a solid mass, the bravest being in the forefront; it constitutes a very much lengthened line, all operating simultaneously.

(C) The '*alligator-array*' is broad at the front face and at the two flanks (thighs), and highly recommended; as nowhere in this array is there any weak point; and even when pressed by braver enemies, it leads to the breaking up of the enemy's forces; and in the end its purpose is entirely and surely accomplished. The rest of the army is to be thrown into the middle of the array

The above-mentioned dispositions of the army are to be resorted to in accordance with the end in view; on even ground the advance should be made either in the '*staff*' or the '*needle*' or the '*garuḍa*' array; but on uneven ground, and on ground beset with obstructions, etc. that of the '*cart*' or the '*alligator*' or the '*boar*'.—(187)

• VERSE (188)

FROM WHERE HE APPREHENDS DANGER THERE HE SHALL EXTEND HIS FORCES; AND HE HIMSELF SHALL ALWAYS ENCAMP IN THE 'LOTUS-ARRAY'—(188)

• *Bhāṣya.*

On the road there may be certain points where there may be apprehension of molestation from persons inclined to help his-enemy ; and at these points, when marching from his preceding encampment, he shall extend his forces to the extent of two miles or a little more ; i.e. at these points the army is to consist of dense masses of elephants and chariots and cavalry extended forward and fully equipped with offensive and defensive weapons and supplied with large quantities of food and fodder.

The 'lotus array' is that disposition of the army where the master is stationed at the centre and his officers all round him in a circular form. In this array he shall himself always 'encamp', —i. e. march forward from a town or a village.—(188)

• VERSE (189)

THE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF AND THE GENERAL HE SHALL STATION IN ALL DIRECTIONS ; THE QUARTER FROM WHICH HE APPREHENDS DANGER, THAT HE SHALL REGARD AS THE 'EAST' (FRONT).—(189)

• *Bhāṣya.*

The 'Commander-in-Chief', the controller of the entire force and its supplies, and the 'General'—each of these being one only, and not many, it would be impossible to station them 'in all directions'; hence the two names should be taken as standing for the subordinates of the two officers ; and when their subordinates have been stationed and put in charge of all directions, the two officers themselves become so 'stationed.'

• Thus having stationed them in battle-array, with distinct army-corps—each consisting of elephants and horses—alloted to each of them, and having placed a mountain or a ditch in his

rear, kept in charge of a separate officer,—he shall regard that direction as the 'East' or 'front' from where he apprehends danger. In this manner he shall arrange his camp, prepared to march forward, in the manner of learned men moving forward.—(189)

VERSE (190)

ON ALL SIDES HE SHALL STATION RELIABLE PICKETS, WITH WHOM SIGNALS HAVE BEEN ARRANGED, WHO ARE EXPERTS IN STANDING FIRM AS ALSO IN CHARGING, FEARLESS AND LOYAL.—(190)

Bhāṣya.

'Pickets'—troops of men ; some of them supplied with conches and drums, while others are not so supplied. These shall be stationed at those points where if any mishap were to occur, it would lead to grave peril.

The qualifications of these men are now stated—(a) '*Reliable*'; '*āpta*' is a *relative*, and 'reliable servants' are as good as relatives.

(b) *'With whom signals have been arranged.'*—with whom signs for communication have been fixed upon ; such as—'when the battle has begun, when you hear the sound of conches, trumpets, drums and other instruments, in such and such a way, then you shall understand that there are signs of wavering and retreat, and then you shall do such and such an act',—or 'when the flag is taken down, or hoisted up, you shall stand apart from one another ; if it is hoisted in this way you shall charge in a mass ; you shall turn back, when it is raised in such and such fashion'.

(c) 'Experts in standing firm',—who are determined to stand together in proper formation even when charged by the canons of the enemy attacking them in dense masses; 'as also in charging'—i. e. while not quite expert in pursuing the fleeing enemy, they are adepts in charging *en masse* into the thickest of the enemy and engaging in fierce combat his rear-guard and taking captives hundreds of those trying to run away.

(d) • *'Fearless'*—hence prone to spreading themselves and yet operating in combination.

- (e) '*Loyal*'—identifying themselves entirely with the interests of their chief.

In this fashion he shall establish several pickets '*on all sides*'—i. e. on three sides—extending to two miles each way; but the position of these shall be altered everyday. When the fears of the chief are allayed by the alertness of these, his people gain confidence in him. And the king shall address the following words to his men—'In as much as, at the end of the war, presents, honours and appreciations shall be distributed among all, it is the interest of all of you, along with the ministers, that it be waged in the proper manner,—I am *king* only in name—in reality all of us are equal sharers in all prosperity that may come to us,—if we win, we acquire a kingdom, and if we lose we attain heaven,—it is with this view that all of us have come together'.—(190)

VERSE (191)

HE SHALL MAKE A SMALL NUMBER OF MEN FIGHT IN CLOSE FORMATION ; BUT A LARGE NUMBER HE MAY EXTEND AS HE LIKES. HE SHALL MAKE THEM FIGHT, ARRAYING THEM IN THE FORM OF THE 'NEEDLE' AND THE 'THUNDERBOLT'.—(191)

Bhāṣya.

If the men do not fight in a close formation, and extend themselves over a large space,—then, happening to be opposed by a larger force, they are apt to be overtaken in small detachments and thus, by sheer impact, become annihilated. For this reason, when the number of men is small, they should be made to fight in close formation, so that fighting with mutual support, they do not become completely annihilated; and also when fighting close by one another, through mutual rivalry and attachment they are enabled to fight the stronger enemy.

• '*As he likes*'—as much as he may wish, in view of the end to be served,—'*he may extend a large number of men*'—i. e. make them fight in small detachments.

If the king thinks that when ordered to fight in small detachments, they may be struck with fear,—or that fear might arise in their minds on seeing the larger numbers of the enemy—then he shall array his men in the form of the ‘needle’ described above. The ‘thunderbolt array’ is that particular form in which the men are divided into three parts—one in the front, another in the rear and the rest on the two sides (of the king). In this ‘needle-array’ or ‘thunderbolt-array’ having arrayed his men, he shall make them do battle. Of all arrays these two have been singled out for mention, as these two are best able to sustain a charge as well as to push home an attack. When he finds these same formations on the enemy’s side, then he shall resort to the opposite formation.

In the event of both belligerents being equal in number, the particular formations and their effectiveness shall depend upon the physical strength, loyalty and efficiency of the men engaged. •

The term ‘*shall make to fight*’ implies that the king himself shall direct the operations from his quarters in a fortress or in some other comparatively safe spot forming the rear of the army. Says a work on the subject—‘The king shall go back to a distance of 200 *bows* (1200 feet) and stay there as the he engage in battle *rear guard*, for the purpose of rallying the men that may be routed; and in no case shall he be without such a rearguard.—(191) •

VERSE (192)

ON • EVEN GROUND HE SHALL FIGHT WITH CHARIOTS AND HORSES; ON MARSHY GROUND WITH BOATS AND ELEPHANTS; ON GROUND COVERED WITH TREES AND THICKETS WITH BOWS; AND ON FIRM GROUND WITH SWORDS AND SHIELDS AND OTHER WEAPONS.—(192)

Bhāṣya.

• This verse describes the nature of the ground on which the army has to operate,

On even ground, he shall fight with chariots and horses; as there is no obstruction for them on such ground.

‘*Marshy ground*’—ground abounding in water. On such ground, if the water is shallow, he shall fight with elephants, but with boats, if it is deep; these can move easily on such ground.

On ground covered with trees and thickets, with bows. This includes also such ground as is cut up with pits and ditches;—the effect of these being the same as that of trees etc.

‘*Firm ground*’—ground free from stones, trees, creepers, pits and the like; on such ground he shall fight with swords and such other weapons as are held in the hand—such as the lance; since these can be used in fighting at close quarters, which shows the fighting-capacity of the combatants.—(192)

Further—

VERSE (193).

MEN BORN IN THE COUNTRIES OF KURUKṢETRA, MATSYA, PAÑCHĀLA, AND SHŪRASENA.—HE SHALL MAKE THESE FIGHT IN THE VANGUARD; AS ALSO THOSE THAT ARE TALL AND LIGHT. — (193)

Bhāṣya.

‘*Kurukṣetra*’—is well known.

‘*Matsya*’—is the name of the *Virāṭa* country, near Nāgapura.

‘*Pañchāla*’—includes both the Kānyakubja and the Ahichchatra.

‘*Born in Shūrasena*’—i. e. in Mathurā.

Some of these words are denotative of origin; but the necessary affix has been dropped.

The people of these countries are mostly huge-bodied, powerful, broad-chested, brave, proud, irrepressible; and as such, when placed at the forefront of the battle, strike terror in the hearts of the enemies.

From among the people of other countries those have to be similarly stationed who are ‘*tall*’—and having large bodies,

are endowed with long breaths. Those that are 'light' are fearless, on account of being comparatively free from danger, being hidden by others and without being struck themselves, continue to strike and thus, without suffering injury, set an example to others—(193).

VERSE (194)

HAVING ARRAYED HIS FORCES, HE SHALL ENCOURAGE THEM AND THOROUGHLY TEST THEM; EVEN WHILE THEY ARE ENGAGING THE ENEMY, HE SHALL MARK THEIR BEHAVIOUR.—(194).

Bhāṣya

'Having arrayed his forces,' and thereby displayed his strength, he shall encourage his men with such words as—'what is there to win? Our enemies are already as good as defeated by your prowess,'—'If you win you gain much wealth, and thereby bring happiness to your dependents and others; if you are slain in battle, you gain heaven, and pay off the debt owing to your employer; on the other hand, if you are defeated, you lose all these three advantages;' and so forth, addressing them such words as may be suitable to the occasion.

He shall also 'thoroughly test them'; he shall get some one to address them such words as—'Do not submit to the restrictions laid down by the king,—we could bear all these if the king and the commander exposed themselves and their relations also to the same danger as ourselves,—the king under the pretence of keeping the rear-guard, is keeping himself in a safe place; being a coward he does not wish to enter the fray' and so forth. On hearing all this some of the men would reply as follows:—'It is not as you say,—this war is our very own,—and for us, who live by the use of weapons, being killed in battle is a highly desirable end,—not fleeing from battle is the highest duty of warriors, and the abandoning of our duty would be a source of sin,—the king also should be guarded by all means in our power;—when we are done, he shall certainly provide rest and other favours for us,—in

fact, that is why he is staying with us';—those who respond thus he shall treat with special consideration. When they gain a victory, they should be enlogised and presented with robes of honour, and their attachment should be strengthened by means of embraces, decorations and presents.

While they are engaging the enemy, *'he shall mark their behaviour'*; i. e. find out how his men are behaving and how his treasury is faring. Some men are likely to be half-hearted, while others go to it whole-heartedly,—all this has to be carefully watched, on account of human nature being extremely fickle; and even those who help generally do so for some selfish end.

Having tested his men, he shall place the unreliable ones in the midst of reliable ones, so that they may all reach the enemy's stronghold.—(194)

The author proceeds to lay down the means of getting at the enemy's stronghold in the next verse.

VERSE (195)

AFTER HAVING BESIEGED THE FOE, HE SHALL HALT, AND PROCEED TO HARASS HIS KINGDOM AND CONTINUALLY VITIATE HIS SUPPLY OF FODDER, FOOD, WATER AND FUEL.—(195)

Bhāṣya.

The siege has to be laid in such a manner that no one is allowed to enter nor any one allowed to get out.

'Kingdom'—i. e. territories outside the fortress occupied by the enemy.—This shall be *'harassed'*;—by kidnapping the inhabitants and persecuting them in various ways.

The *'vitiating'* of fodder etc. consists in spoiling them by mixing undesirable things with them.—(195).

VERSE (196)

HE SHALL DESTROY THE TANKS, AS ALSO WALLS AND DITCHES; HE SHALL ASSAIL THE ENEMY AND SHALL FRIGHTEN HIM DURING THE NIGHT.—(196)

Bhāṣya.

The 'tank' stands for all kinds of water-reservoirs. The tank is 'destroyed' by its source of supply being cut off by means of embankments. The wall is 'destroyed' by being breached by means of machines, or being undermined. The 'ditch' is 'destroyed' either by being filled up or by having an outlet made in its banks.

He shall *assail the enemy*, in the fort, at the breaches in the walls, which should be attacked by brave soldiers; *'and he shall frighten him during the night'*—by means of men holding on their heads jars of flaming fire, and crying like the jackal. People seeing such portents would keep up during the night; and being fatigued by the waking would be easily reducible.—(196).

During all this time—

VERSE (197)

HE SHALL ALIENATE ALL WHO ARE ALIENABLE, KEEP HIMSELF INFORMED OF THE ENEMY'S DOINGS, AND WHEN FATE IS PROPITIOUS, HE SHALL FIGHT, DEVOID OF FEAR AND DETERMINED TO CONQUER.—(197).

Bhāṣya.

'*Those who are alienable*'—i.e. such members of his family as are angry with the enemy, and desirous of obtaining his Kingdom;—all such '*he shall alienate*'; i.e. instruct them as to what they should do. The act of '*alienating*' consists in estranging the dependent from his chief and inciting him to seek his own advantage at the cost of the latter.

Through his spies he shall also keep himself informed of the '*enemy's doings*',—to find out all that the beleagured enemy does in the way of inciting his own soldiers and foresters in his rear, and forming alliances with the intermedearies and neutrals.

'*When fate is propitious*',—when it is favourable to the besieging king ; i.e. when the stars and planets bear a favourable aspect, when dreams and other omens are found to be auspicious, and when there are other signs visible, in the form of favourable winds and so forth,—then being '*determined to conquer*' and '*devoid of fear*,' he shall march forward as before and attack various points in the enemy's stronghold.—(197).

VERSE (198)

BY CONCILIATION, BY GIFTS AND BY DISSENSION,—EITHER SEVERALLY OR COLLECTIVELY,—HE SHALL TRY TO CONQUER HIS ENEMY,—NEVER BY WAR.—(198).

Bhāṣya.

He shall not go to war in a hurry. (a) At first he shall try '*Conciliation*'—i.e. friendly meeting, sitting together, conversing, seeing each other's wife and so forth;—then (b) '*gifts*'—the presenting of gold and other things in token of affection, for the purpose of creating mutual attachment ;—then (c) '*dissension*'—the winning over of his family-members. This last means also the arousing of fear in his mind and so forth.—(198).

VERSE (199)

SINCE BETWEEN TWO COMBATANTS VICTORY IS FOUND TO BE UNCERTAIN, AS ALSO DEFEAT,—THEREFORE HE SHALL AVOID FIGHTING—(199).

Bhāṣya.

Because it is not always found to be the case that he who gains the victory is necessarily the stronger of the two combatants,—or that he who is defeated by him is necessarily the weaker,—therefore '*victory is uncertain*'.—(199).

VERSE—(200)

BUT IN THE EVENT OF THE THREE AFORESAID EXPEDIENTS FAILING, HE SHALL FIGHT IN SUCH A MANNER AS TO CONQUER HIS ENEMIES COMPLETELY.—(200).

Bhāṣya.

• Conciliation and the rest having failed,—even though victory be uncertain, and equally possible for both combatants,—he shall fight in such a manner that his victory become certain ; and if he wins, he gains a kingdom, while if he is slain, he gains heaven; so in either case victory would be his. He shall not create imaginary difficulties, and he shall also eschew all treacherous ways of fighting, as also all such operations as would bring about either the utter annihilation of the enemy or too much harassment. Says Vyāsa—‘O Arjuna, even Indra himself dare not stand before men who have become desperate and given up all hope of their lives’. When victory appears to be doubtful, retreat is the proper thing to do ; for when life has gone out, the man is unable to accomplish his purpose ; it is only while alive that he passes through pleasing experiences, whereas if he dies, he only gains heaven.—(200). •

SECTION (10)

Consolidation of Conquered Territory.

VERSE (201)

HAVING GAINED VICTORY, HE SHALL WORSHIP THE GODS AND THE RIGHTEOUS BRĀHMAṆAS, GRANT REMISSIONS AND PROCLAIM AMNESITIES.—(201).

Bhāṣya.

After the enemy has been defeated and quiet has been restored in the captured city, and among the people—‘he shall worship *the gods and the righteous Brāhmanas*’—i. e. those who perform all the acts that are enjoined for the Brahmana, and who, as much as lies in their power, avoid all that is forbidden. He shall make offerings of sandal-paint, flowers, incense and so forth, with due apportionment and after proper purification of the things offered.

‘*Grant remissions*’.—For the safety of householders, in order that their livelihood may not suffer, he shall remit such portions of the taxes as may be too burdensome for them, not realising them for one or two years.

‘*Proclaim amnesties*’.—He shall make it known among the people of the city and the villages—by means of the beat of drum or the felling of the mace and such other means—that what they had done by virtue of their loyalty to their former master had been forgiven and that henceforward every one of them was free to take to his own calling.—(201).

If even after the bestowing of such favours he finds that the citizens and the people are still so loyal to their former master that they still cherish feelings of attachment towards his dynasty, and that any government of his own would not be lasting,—then, he shall do as follows:—

VERSE (202)

HAVING BRIEFLY ASCERTAINED THE WISHES OF ALL THE PEOPLE,
HE SHALL SET UP THERE A MEMBER OF THE SAME FAMILY
AND THEN CONCLUDE THE TREATY.—(202)

Bhāṣya.

Having briefly ascertained that such and such is the wish of the citizens and other people—‘they do not wish to be governed in such and such a manner; they wish to have a king of the same family as their former ruler,’—*he shall set up a member of the same family*,’ who may be mild-tempered, and happy in his family-surroundings;—and then conclude a treaty with the king thus set up along with his assembled subjects and ministers;—the terms of the treaty being—‘you and I shall have equal shares in your income, you shall consult me in all that you do or not do, at the proper time you shall come and help me with your treasury and force’ and so forth.—(202).

VERSE (203)

HE SHALL MAKE AUTHORITATIVE ALL THAT IS DECLARED
TO HAVE BEEN LAWFUL (IN THE KINGDOM), AND SHALL HONOR
WITH PRECIOUS GIFTS THE KING ALONG WITH THE LEADING
MEN.—(203).

Bhāṣya.

All the customs relating to the property of Brāhmaṇas or temples, and to the duties of the people that may have been prevalent in the kingdom from before,—all those he shall confirm, ‘*make authoritative*’. By so doing, they become attached to him;—and the ‘leading men’ that may be there,—their importance being due to their being rich in their belongings and in the size of their family and such other qualifications,—along with these, the new king shall be honoured with presents of weapons, money, grains, ornaments, conveyances, umbrella, throne, crown and so forth.—(203)

The next verse explains why precious gifts are to be made to the people.

VERSE (204)

THE SEIZING OF DESIRABLE PROPERTY IS PRODUCTIVE OF DISPLEASURE, AND THE GIVING OF IT IS PRODUCTIVE OF PLEASURE; EACH IS COMMENDED IF DONE AT THE PROPER TIME.—(204).

Bhāṣya.

The non-giving of what should be given to the new king, or to any other person, is '*productive of displeasure*'; it causes displeasure; and the giving of it is '*productive of pleasure*'. Both these facts are well known;—that the giving of what is desired causes pleasure, and the withholding of it causes pain.

'*Each is commended when done at the proper time*';—at one time any gift however small causes pleasure, while at another time a poor gift, or a small one, causes no pleasure at all. Hence the seizing and giving away of property should be done after full consideration of the peculiarity of the time.—(204).

All that has gone before and what is going to be described below,—all this is 'dependent' &c. &c. (says the next verse.)

VERSE (205)

ALL THIS UNDERTAKING IS DEPENDENT UPON THE ORDERING OF DESTINY AND OF HUMAN EXERTION; OF THESE TWO, DESTINY IS INCOMPREHENSIBLE, AND ACTION IS POSSIBLE ONLY IN REGARD TO HUMAN EXERTION.—(205)

Bhāṣya.

'*Undertaking*', action done for the purpose of bringing about a desirable result,—'*all this*' is dependent upon something.

'*Vidhāna*', '*ordering*', is that which *ordains*, the effect of actions. That which *ordains* an act also *qualifies* it;—'*of Destiny and of Human Exertion*',—'*Destiny*' consisting in Merit &c., resulting from previous acts, in the shape of doing what is prescribed and also what is forbidden. The doing of an act has its

motives noticeable in morality or immorality. Says the *Śruti*—“*Vidhi*, (creator) *Vidhāna* (ordinance) *Niyati* (Destiny), *Svabhāva* (Nature), *Kāla* (Time), *Brahma*, *Ishvara* (God), *Karma* (Deed), *Daiva* (Fāte), *Bhāgya* (Luck), *Puṇya* (Merit) *Bhutāntaryoga* (co-operation of Beings) —these are the synonyms of ‘Previous Act’;—and the *Smṛti* also “*Destiny* should be understood as what is done by the man himself in his previous body ; and *Human Exertion* is what he does during this life”. From this it is clear that as between ‘Destiny’ and ‘Human Exertion’, the latter becomes, after death, the cause of the former.

It is on this ‘effect’ that every undertaking and its result are ‘dependent’. Destiny by itself, apart from Human Exertion, does not bring about any results ; it must need the help of Human Effort ; and Human Effort must need the help of Destiny. If results followed from mere Destiny, independently of Human Exertion, then it would be possible for results to accrue to the embryo also ; since however there are no such results, it has to be inferred that results follow from Destiny only when it is accompanied by Human Exertion ; similarly, if Human Exertion were productive of results, independently by itself, then all kinds of results would accrue to all kinds of men. As a matter of fact, no such thing ever actually happens. Hence it follows that causal efficiency belongs to both conjointly. So says Vyāsa—‘All human undertakings are the effects of twofold *Karma*,—Destiny and Human Exertion ; apart from these two there is nothing else.’ (*Mahābhārata*, *Sauptika-parva*, 2.2); and in the *Samūnatantra* (?) also—‘Destiny and Human Exertion maintain the moral and immoral activities of men.’

Those who hold that Destiny is the sole cause of things argue as follows:—“Destiny is the only cause. As a matter of fact, we find that idiots, eunuchs, cripples, lame persons and others, though absolutely unable to put forth any exertion, are still happy; though entirely helpless, yet they obtain the good results of past acts. On the other hand, it is often found that persons with enough means at their command, able-bodied, brave and clever and versed in the scriptures, are unhappy, even though putting

forth all their efforts ; and people go on experiencing gains and losses, brought about Destiny alone, independently of all efforts of their own. It is only under this theory that all activities tending to bring about results in the other world come to have their use ; the idea in the mind of the actors being—‘we are experiencing in this world the ‘results of past deeds and in the other world we shall experience those of our present deeds’; and it is when they know this that they engage themselves in meritorious deeds, and it is on this account that doubts also arise in the minds of people. (In support of the fatalist’s stand-point) they quote the following saying—‘I know what is righteous, and yet I do not act up to it ; and I know what is unrighteous, and yet I do not desist from it ; I do exactly as I am prompted to do by God ; apart from Him there is no other guide.’”

On the other hand, those who would depend entirely upon Human Exertion argue thus :—“Human Exertion is the sole cause of all activities. It is only when the man laboriously exerts towards agricultural operations that he obtains the fruits of cultivation in the shape of good harvest. To this end it has been declared that—‘In this world, it is only one who resorts to activity and performs acts that enjoys their results’. Even when food is there, people do not have their hunger satisfied unless they actually do the eating ; so that it stands to reason that since the result of the act of eating accrues to the man only after he has done that act, it should be attributed to the act (and not to any thing else). It is only thus that all injunctions regarding the doing of acts become useful. To this end they say—‘The wise man sometimes sets aside even Destiny itself, just as he keeps off heat and cold and brings on as well as drives off rain.’ ”

From all these arguments it follows that causal efficiency belongs to both, Destiny and Human Exertion ; specially as it is found that in the absence of either of the two, proper results do not appear. In some cases, one, and in others, the other, happens to be chiefly conducive to a particular result, and hence comes to be regarded as the cause of that result. It often happens that human exertion, even though put forth, is baffled when over-

powered by a more powerful Destiny ; just as wet fuel, even though put in fire, does not burn, if the fire is weak. And even if Destiny be weak, if it is helped by strong human effort, it succeeds in producing its results ; just as even wet fuel burns when put in powerful fire, and it does not quench the fire. To this end there is the following saying—‘Destiny, when weak, is set aside by Human Exertion, and even intelligent effort is baffled by more powerful Destiny.’

It is in view of all this that the Author says—‘*of these two Destiny is verily incomprehensible*’; the term ‘*tu*’ denotes emphasis; the meaning is that the real character of Destiny cannot be comprehended. It cannot be even thought of at what time it will bring about its results ; specially as apart from the scriptures, we cannot form any conception of it, we cannot fathom in what way it comes into existence and how it operates.

As regards Destiny then, any enquiry concerning it would be futile among human beings. Hence it is Human exertion, in the form of Action, that is going to be described, forming, as it does, the subject-matter of the treatise. And it is only in regard to ‘Human exertion’ that ‘*action is possible*’. In connection with agricultural operations, it is possible for us to form some idea, such as—‘I should carry on such and such operations, by means of such and such appliances, and in this manner I shall obtain such and such results’. In fact people undertake only that action of which the beginning, the middle and the end can be perceived. As regards ‘Destiny’, it is absolutely unthinkable in what manner even men in trouble should act, until the result is actually perceived. Thus Destiny being ‘*incomprehensible*’, it is not necessary to devote much attention to it. It is human activity which we can think over and then do what has to be done ; in fact the man who acts in a haphazard manner, without thinking of what he does, always comes to grief.

* When the king is equipped with all the three ‘powers’, and endowed with due exertion and energy, there arises in his mind a keen desire to conquer other kingdoms ; and it is when Human Exertion becomes helped by Destiny that it accomplishes

all his purposes. And towards the final result it is Destiny that adds to excellence and all the rest of it is accomplished by Human Exertion alone. In the case of the king who has set out on conquest, if the enemy happens at the time to be under some calamity, this is due entirely to Destiny ; and in action, it is Human Exertion that is most effective ; so, in fact both stand on the same footing.

Further, it has been held that "when Human exertion functions, irrespectively of the ordering of Destiny, then it is with great difficulty that it leads to success". This means that if the man puts forth his efforts when Destiny is against him, then, in regard to all the eight forms of activity, either it accomplishes his purpose only with great difficulty, or it becomes entirely futile. Hence, even though there be prospect of difficulties, yet no one shall rest satisfied with simply resigning himself to Destiny.

When, on the other hand, Human Exertion operates in co-operation with Destiny, then it accomplishes all his purposes—as delineated in the Vedic texts—without difficulty. Thus whenever Human Exertion functions, while Destiny is favourable, it accomplishes all his purpose without any trouble at all. This idea is further confirmed by the following two verses:—'In some cases, when the man has put forth his effort in the field—even though Destiny is against him—it brings him its due reward;—sometimes the field is as if it were dead, and then all effort is futile.' It has often been found that though the man tries again and again, the result does not accrue if the necessary aid in the form of favourable Destiny does not come to his rescue.

Then again, 'even though the man may have his Destiny favourable, yet, in the absence of Exertion, no field can bear fruits without due Human Exertion'. In fact it is only when the result has been gained that the presence of favourable Destiny is inferred. Hence when there is no Result, it follows that favourable Destiny was absent.

c Others have held the view that when it has been found that Destiny has been duly operative, and yet the result does not appear, this only indicates that there has been no human exertion

in the case; the case being analogous to that of there being no tree when there is no seed. In this view, Destiny is held to be represented by the Sun, the Moon and the other planets, as also by Vāyu, Agni and Apas; and it is set right by Human Exertion put forth with special care.—(205)

VERSE (206—210).

OR, HAVING MADE PEACE WITH HIS ENEMY, HE MAY RETURN, ACCOMPANIED BY THE LATTER,—FINDING IN THIS THE DUE FULFILMENT OF THE THREEFOLD REWARD CONSISTING OF AN ALLY, GOLD AND TERRITORY.—(206)

IN HIS 'CIRCLE', HAVING PAID DUE ATTENTION TO THE ALLY WHO FORMS HIS REAR-GUARD, AND ALSO TO THE ALLY WHO OCCUPIES THE POSITION NEXT TO THE SAID ALLY, THE KING SHALL OBTAIN THE RESULT OF HIS EXPEDITION EITHER FROM HIS FRIEND OR FROM HIS FOE.—(207)

THE KING DOES NOT PROSPER SO MUCH BY GAINING GOLD AND TERRITORY AS HE DOES BY OBTAINING A FIRM ALLY, EVEN THOUGH THIS LATTER BE WEAK, IF FRAUGHT WITH FUTURE POSSIBILITIES.—(208)

EVEN A WEAK ALLY IS HIGHLY COMMENDED, IF HE IS RIGHTEOUS AND GRATEFUL, HAS HIS PEOPLE CONTENT, AND IS LOYAL AND PERSEVERING IN HIS ACTIONS —(209)

THE WISE ONES DESCRIBE THAT ENEMY TO BE MOST TROUBLESOME WHO IS INTELLIGENT, OF NOBLE RACE, BRAVE, CLEVER, CHARITABLE, GRATEFUL AND FIRM.—(210)

GENTLEMANLINESS, KNOWLEDGE OF MEN, BRAVERY, COMPASSIONATE DISPOSITION, AND CONSTANT LIBERALITY ARE THE QUALITIES TO BE BOUGHT FOR IN A NEUTRAL.—(211)

Bhāṣya.

* For all men, agencies of happiness and unhappiness are set up by Destiny, which is also styled 'merit-demerit'; and when men fall into troublesome positions, they pacify the unfavourable Destiny leading to it by special efforts put forth towards the

alleviating of the evil influences ; so that they are rendered favourable in the final result.(?)

The '*knowledge of men*' stands for *worldly experience*. The man who is worldly wise is capable of rendering great help.

The '*brave*' man is generally clever in business.

The '*compassionate*' man, is one who is of sympathetic nature, and always saves men from undue greed (?)

The '*liberal*' man is one who is always capable of providing a large amount of wealth. (206-211)

VERSE (212)

EVEN THOUGH THE LAND (OCCUPIED BY HIM) BE SAFE, FERTILE AND CONDUCTIVE TO THE INCREASE OF CATTLE, YET HE SHALL QUIT IT,—NOT MINDING HIS OWN SELFISH INTERESTS.—(212)

Bhāṣya.

Even though the land be as described he shall quit it without delay.

'*Safe*'—free from molestation at the hands of robbers and others.

'*Fertile*'—productive of rich harvests, not dependent entirely upon rain.

'*Conducive to the increase of cattle*',—being in a wild state, and hence abounding in much fruit, or leaves or grass, the land becomes conducive to the increase of cattle ; abounding in tradesmen and cultivators, free from famine and pestilence, and capable of maintaining large numbers of men (?)

This does not mean that he shall evacuate in a hurry the territory occupied by him ; he should give up only that territory with regard to which he feels that if he continued to stay, the people of the land would try to recover it from him. So that as soon as he finds that evacuation would not mean any financial or strategical harm to himself and his allies, he shall give up the territory even though it possesses all the qualities described above.—(212)

SECTION (14).

General Precepts.

VERSE (213).

HE SHALL SAVE HIS WEALTH FOR THE SAKE OF TROUBLE ; HIS WIFE
HE SHALL PROTECT EVEN WITH HIS WEALTH ; AND HIMSELF HE
SHALL CONSTANTLY PROTECT, EVEN WITH HIS WIFE AND HIS
WEALTH.—(213)

Bhāṣya.

The rule here laid down is extremely difficult to follow.

'*For the sake of trouble*',—i.e. for the purpose of removing trouble ; just as smoke set up for the removal of mosquitoes is said to be 'for the sake of mosquitoes'. For that purpose '*he shall save wealth*'; there is no other use for saving wealth ; as wealth has been described as being for the sake of *giving* and *enjoying*. Hence it is with due consideration of this that the King shall regulate his expeditions and haltings and the winning over of the men of the other party.

Even with wealth he shall protect his wife ; the mention of the 'wife' includes all near relatives.

His own self is to be preserved ; and if he cannot preserve himself by any other way, he shall do it even by giving away all his property, or even if it become necessary, by giving up his wife ; for even after having abandoned his wife and property, he may take to the vow of silence and carry on a life of righteousness. Those persons who allow themselves to perish for the sake of wealth or wife,—for them the wife or the property serves no useful purpose, either visible or invisible, because such an act is neither righteous nor unrighteous.

This forsaking of the wife does not apply to young princes
.....(?)

Though this rule has been laid down in the section dealing

with the 'King's Duties', yet, since it serves a distinctly useful purpose, it should be taken as applicable to all persons.

Objection : "The king, having acquired a kingdom, and being possessed of much wealth, shall perform the *Ashvamedha* and other elaborate sacrifices and enjoy unequalled pleasures ; what could the discontented people do to him (in consideration whereof he should give up the conquered territory)?"

There is no force in this objection ; even for men possessed of little wealth, many righteous acts are possible, in the shape of the telling of beads and so forth. It is only for certain acts of a peculiar character that wealth is necessary ; and under the circumstances stated it would not be right to displease the people ; hence such an act shall not be done in a hurry.—(213)

And the reason for it is as follows :—

VERSE (214).

SEEING ALL KINDS OF TROUBLES FREQUENTLY CROPPING UP SIMULTANEOUSLY, THE WISE PERSON SHALL EMPLOY ALL THE EXPEDIENTS, COLLECTIVELY AS WELL AS SEVERALLY.—(214)

Bhāṣya.

'*Troubles*'—misfortunes due to human as well as divine agencies ; when these appear simultaneously, in connection with what forms the subject-matter of the present context, then, the *wise man shall employ all the expedients*', '*collectively*'—i.e. gifts preceded by conciliation, dissension preceded by conciliation, fighting accompanied by conciliation, gifts and dissension,—or gifts along with the others, and so on. That is, he shall make use of that particular expedient which he finds most suited to the occasion ; and he shall not sit cast down with the troubles.—(214)

How this shall be done is explained in the next verse.

VERSE (215)

(a) THE EMPLOYER OF THE EXPEDIENTS, (b) THE END TO BE ATTAINED BY THE EXPEDIENTS AND (c) THE EXPEDIENTS THEMSELVES,—TAKING HIS STAND UPON ALL THESE THREE, HE SHALL STRIVE FOR THE ACCOMPLISHMENT OF HIS PURPOSE.—(215)

Bhāṣya.

‘*Sūdhayēt kāryamātmanah*’ is another reading for the last quarter of the verse.

‘*The employer of the Expedients*’—i.e. himself ; having obtained himself, he shall accomplish his purpose, as if he were his own friend.

‘*All expedients*’—collectively and severally.

‘*The end to be attained*’—this also refers to all kinds of business in general.

‘*Taking his stand upon*’—having resorted to ; this *resorting to* is accomplished by pondering over them,—as to whether the expedients are efficient enough, what would be the proper thing to do, by what means is such and such end to be attained,—all this he shall duly ponder over.

‘*All*’—refers to ‘*the three*’,—and means *entirely*.

The meaning thus comes to be that—‘for the accomplishment of his purpose he shall employ that particular expedient which may be capable of accomplishing it’.

As a matter of fact, the ends to be attained by means of the Expedients are endless in number ; so that it is not possible to mention them all in detail ; and hence they have been mentioned briefly and collectively. And all this shall be duly pondered over. It is with reference to the peculiar nature of the ends that it has been declared as follows :—

‘The careful man makes peace ; the careful man has recourse to his own prowess ; both these should be equipped with statesmanship, without which one would be as good as a thief.’—(215)

SECTION (15).

Subsequent Routine.

VERSE (216).

HAVING THUS DISCUSSED ALL THIS WITH HIS MINISTERS, THE KING SHALL TAKE EXERCISE AT MIDDAY; AND HAVING BATHED, SHALL ENTER THE INNER APARTMENT FOR THE PURPOSE OF TAKING HIS FOOD.—(216).

Bhāṣya

'Thus'—in the manner described above ;—*'the king, having discussed all this'*—business described above, what, should be done in normal times and also in abnormal times, and what, under what circumstances—*'with his ministers'*;—*'at midday,' 'he shall take exercise'* and *'bathe'*. Throgh the mention of *bathing* is rather out of place in the present context, yet it has been mentioned in view of its tending to auspiciousness (and success). For the purpose of *bathing*, and for that of *eating*, the king shall—before bathing—enter the inner apartment. It is with a view to lay down this special fact that the author has had recourse to this form of summing up.—(216)

VERSE (217)

THERE HE SHALL EAT THE FOOD THAT HAS BEEN THOROUGHLY TESTED BY SUCH SERVANTS AS ARE HIS OWN VERY SELF, AS ARE CONVERSANT WITH THE PECULIARITIES OF TIME, AND ARE UNCORRUPTIBLE,—WITH SUCH SACRED TEXTS AS ARE DESTRUCTIVE OF POISON.—(217)

Bhāṣya.

'There'—in the inner apartment.

'Who are his own very self',—i.e. who are as watchful of his safety as he himself would be.

'Who are conversant with the peculiarities of time'—who know what food and drink to give at what age and under what conditions.

'Uncorruptible'—who cannot be alienated ; thoroughly trustworthy.

'Servants'—physicians and others.

The food shall be first 'tested'—i.e. tasted by them ; and then he shall eat it.

The 'testing' shall be done by expert physicians by means of fire, the partridge and such other things. If poison has been mixed with the food, it becomes discoloured upon drying, which shows its impurity ; and when poisoned food is thrown into the fire, it loses its odour, or becomes too sour ; there is a discolouring in the flame of the fire also ; and if birds are given the food, they suffer in various ways ; e.g. the *Kokila* dies at the mere sight of poisoned food ; the *Jivaka* becomes withered, by merely looking at poison ; the eyes of the *Chakora* (partridge) become destroyed,—and the *Muska* (?) begins to perspire.

• • He shall also repeat over suspected food those sacred texts that are believed to be destructive of poisons.—(217)

VERSE (218)

HE SHALL PURIFY ALL HIS THINGS BY MEANS OF LIQUIDS DESTRUCTIVE OF POISONS ; AND HE SHALL BE CAREFUL TO WEAR ALWAYS SUCH GEMS AS ARE ANTIDOTES AGAINST POISON.—(218)

Bhāṣya.

'All his things'—all such things as clothes and the like that are to be used by the king,—'he shall purify by means of liquids destructive of poisons.'

'Such gems as are antidotes against poison'—e.g. the gem on the snake's hood, which may have been thrown out of the mouth of the *Garuḍa*-bird.

'Careful'—he should never miss it.

'Always'—at times other than that of eating also.—(218)

VERSE (219)

THOROUGHLY TESTED WOMEN, WHOSE TOILET AND ORNAMENTS HAVE BEEN EXAMINED, SHALL SERVE HIM ATTENTIVELY WITH FANS, WATER AND INCENSE. —(219)

Bhāṣya.

'*Thoroughly tested*'—examined by means of tests, as regards their character, honesty and behaviour ;—'*women*'—maids, maid-servants ;—'*with fans, water and incense*'—by means of these,—'*shall serve him*'—attend upon him ; and they shall have taken their baths and performed toilets carefully ;—'*attentively*'—not having their minds diverted elsewhere.

'*Toilet and ornaments examined*',—every possibility of tricks of toilet in regard to nails, hairs and the like being thoroughly examined ; sometimes weapons may be concealed, in these, by means of which they might strike the king without the least hindrance. The '*ornaments*' have to be examined, because these may be besmeared with poison, and with these they might touch the king's person.—(219)

VERSE (220)

HE SHALL EXERCISE SIMILAR CAUTION WITH REGARD TO CONVEYANCES, BEDS, SEATS AND FOOD, AS ALSO TO BATH, TOILET AND ALL KINDS OF ORNAMENTS —(220).

Bhāṣya.

'*Similar*'—i.e. as regards the removal of poison &c.—'*caution, he shall exercise*'.

The '*bath*' referred to here is the full bath when the head is washed with such perfumes as the *Rochana* (the yellow pigment obtained from the bile of the cow) and the like.

The '*seat*' has been mentioned here by way of illustration ; the sense being that he should exercise the same caution with regard to the conveyance and other things. 'that he does while seated on a carefully prepared seat.—(220)

VERSE (221)

HAVING DINED, HE SHALL AMUSE HIMSELF IN THE INNER APARTMENT, IN THE COMPANY OF THE LADIES ; AND HAVING AMUSED HIMSELF, HE SHALL IN DUE TIME AGAIN ATTEND TO BUSINESS.—(221)

Bhāṣya.

In that same inner apartment, he shall, with a view to divert himself, sport, as long as it pleases him, with the 'ladies',—his newly-wed wives.

'In due time'—i.e. after such time as is proper for such diversion ; this is to be construed with what follows.

'Having amused himself'—i.e. after having shaken off his fatigue ;—'he shall'—either alone by himself, or in the company of ministers,—'again attend to' such business as may present itself.—(221)

VERSE (222)

DULY ROBED, HE SHALL AGAIN INSPECT THE FIGHTING MEN, AS ALSO ALL KINDS OF CONVEYANCES, WEAPONS AND ACCOUTREMENTS.—(222).

Bhāṣya.

Having come out of the inner apartment, he shall robe himself and 'inspect the fighting men'—i.e. receive their salutes ;—'again'—even though he may have inspected them in the morning, yet he shall inspect them again, every day. 'Āyudhīya'—those who live by their weapons and are, consequently, very careful regarding them.

'All kinds of conveyances' ;—the inspection of these leads to their improvement, and makes the men in charge of them careful regarding their charge. Such supervision of servants is to be accompanied by proper punishments and rewards(?)—(222)

VERSE (223)

HAVING ATTENDED TO HIS TWILIGHT DEVOTIONS, HE SHALL, WELL-ARMED, LISTEN, IN AN INNER BOOM, TO THE DOINGS OF PERSONS MAKING SECRET REPORTS, AND ALSO OF HIS SPIES.—(223).

Bhāṣya.

Though the attending to the twilight-devotions has already been enjoined for the three higher castes, yet it is re-iterated here, either with a view to show that for a time the king shall desist from the business of his people, or for the purpose of indicating the time for the next act.

'In an inner room'—in secret.

'Persons making secret reports',—i.e. reports pertaining to secret acts, done inside houses &c.; as also such *'spies'* as may happen to arrive at the time.

'Doings'—acts; what they may have seen, heard or done. For this purpose all these persons shall be seen at this time.

This shall be done in such a manner that other people may not know it, and that he may be enabled to take steps to meet the circumstances reported to him. It has been declared that—*'whenever any business presents itself, it shall be attended to, and not postponed; as by the lapse of time it might become difficult, or even impossible.'*—(223)

VERSE (224)

REPAIRING TO ANOTHER APARTMENT, AND HAVING DISMISSED THOSE PEOPLE, HE SHALL AGAIN ENTER THE INNER APARTMENT, SUBROUNDED BY THE WOMEN, FOR THE PURPOSE OF TAKING HIS FOOD.—(224).

Bhāṣya.

From the aforesaid room, he shall go to another apartment.

'Those people'—the secret reporters and the rest.

'By the women'—maid-servants,—*'surrounded, he shall again enter the inner apartment.'*—(224).

VERSE (225)

THEN, HAVING EATEN A LITTLE AGAIN, AND HAVING BEEN RECREATED BY THE SOUND OF MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS, HE SHALL SLEEP AND RISE AT THE PROPER TIME, FREED FROM FATIGUE.—(225)

Bhāṣya.

‘*Kiñchit*,’ ‘*a little*’—is an Indeclinable.

‘*Musical instruments*’—such as the Flute, the Lute, the Tabor, the Kettle-drum, the Conch and so forth;—‘*by the sound*’ of these, soft and pleasing to the ear—‘*becoming recreated*’ ‘*he shall sleep*’—for some time; i.e. pass a proper stretch of time in sleeping.—‘*Freed from fatigue*’—i.e. having shaken off all physical discomforts—‘*he shall rise*’, for attending to his affairs.—(225)

VERSE (226)•

THE KING, WHO IS FREE FROM DISEASES, SHALL ACT UP TO THIS ORDINANCE; BUT WHEN INDISPOSED, HE SHALL ENTRUST ALL THIS TO HIS SERVANTS.—(226)

Bhāṣya.

‘*This*’—what has gone before;—beginning with the verse ‘at midday or at midnight &c. &c.’;—all that has been laid down here, ‘*he shall act up to*’,—as far as he can do so. ‘*When indisposed he shall entrust it to his servants*’—employ them to do it. In this manner having arranged for his own safety, he successfully carries upon his own business, as also that of his subjects.—(226)

Thus ends Discourse Seventh.

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